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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

November-December, 1937

SOCIOLOGY IN HOLLAND¹

J. J. VON SCHMID

University of Leiden

During the disturbed period in which Holland was undergoing various changes from a league of separate states in the eighteenth century into a part of the French Empire under Napoleon, and again into a constitutional monarchy after the fall of Napoleon, the social sciences were but poorly developed in general. During this period all the problems of the social sciences were juridical problems relative to the authority which the constitution and legislation delegated to the various state organs. They were, as a consequence, chiefly of an abstract, theoretical nature. Social science was quite detached from the practical affairs of life and was primarily abstract and theoretical in character. Concrete, practical problems of the present were handled by means of highly developed, juridical dialectic, and even political economy was pursued in the same spirit and assumed the same theoretical attitude toward the problems of society. But the hour was approaching in which the practical aspect of social life would necessarily force itself into recognition, even if the second phase of August Comte's system (the metaphysical) still held entire sway. Ultimately, the actual facts of life are bound to exercise an influence even upon theoretical abstractions. The change came about 1890.

The written constitution no longer met the necessities of public law, which had been completely changed by the

¹ Adapted by L. L. Bernard, Washington University.

struggle between cabinet and parliament, while in private law the codes were antiquated and in need of reconstruction. This had led to an independent development in practice of the application of constitution and laws. The theory of dogmatic constitutional law was now abandoned in favor of a study of its historical development, taking England as its example. At the same time, in the field of economics rational principles were brought into sharp conflict by the labor problem, while the colonial policy had led to a relationship with the natives that aroused a vital interest in their morals and customs.

This was the hour for Steinmetz,² the pioneer of sociology in Holland. He had been educated at Leiden in the dogmatic juridical school, but he immediately repudiated this method entirely. His ideal was to replace it at the university by the methods of social science and sociology and to make a direct study of the actual facts of society to which he would devote his life. From this point of view he may be called an autodidact. He endeavored to bring his aims into connection with the existing tendencies by a study of the criminal law among primitive peoples, the subject upon which he wrote his doctoral dissertation at Leiden in 1892. His graduate director was naturally so little at home in the subject that he applied to Tylor in London for his opinion of the scientific value of the book.

² Rudolph Steinmetz (1862-), Dutch culture sociologist and geographer, educated at Leiden and Leipzig. He introduced Toynbee's social settlement idea into Holland. Later he undertook the teaching of sociology and ethnology at the universities of Utrecht and Leiden, and made field studies in the Dutch East Indies. Since 1908 he has been professor of political geography and ethnology at the University of Amsterdam. He has written various works on sociology, law, ethics, and ethnology, of which the following are some of the most important in English equivalents for the Dutch titles: *Ethnological Studies in the Early Evolution of Punishment* (1892-1894); *Eudocannibalism* (Vienna, 1895); *The Claims of Sociology and Ethnology in the University* (inaugural address, Utrecht, 1895); *Punishment and Reward in the Life Hereafter according to the Savages* (1897); *War as a Sociological Problem* (Amsterdam, 1899); *Feminism* (Leiden, 1899); *What Is Sociology?* (Leiden, 1900); *The Significance of Ethnology for the Study of Man and Society* (Amsterdam, 1900); *Juridical Relations among the Nature Peoples of Africa and Oceania* (Berlin, 1903); *Critique of Proletarian Morals* (Amsterdam, 1907); *The Study of Ethnology* (1907); *Essay in the Bibliography of Ethnology to 1911* (1911); *The Nationalities in Europe* (1920); *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1931); *Collected Lesser Writings on Ethnology and Sociology* (3 vols., 1936).

In 1895 Steinmetz was appointed assistant professor in anthropology and the sociology of primitive peoples, at Utrecht, where he opened his campaign for the acknowledgment of the social sciences. After a struggle of five years he was forced to abandon his efforts there. After this, from 1900 to 1907, he was assistant professor of sociology at Leiden and subsequently professor of anthropology and geography in Amsterdam, sociology being no longer officially intrusted to him. Up to 1933, the year of his retirement, he accomplished a great deal in the interests of these subjects. Since he was not proficient in physical geography he focused his efforts upon the social side of this subject, which led in the direction of Le Play's monographic method, and gave to it the name of sociography.

After the war, when the curriculum was revised, Steinmetz was able to make sociology a compulsory subject for geographers and an optional one for legal and other students. His pupils have since then contributed a number of sociographic monographs as doctoral dissertations on various districts of Holland. One of these students, den Hollander, wrote a book on the poor whites in the southern states of the United States.³

After the assistant professorship in sociology had lapsed in Leiden in 1907, owing to Steinmetz' removal to Amsterdam, there was nowhere in Holland any official instruction in this science. This situation continued until 1922, when the University of Amsterdam decided that besides the teaching of criminal law, instruction should also be given in criminology. W. A. Bongers (1877-) was accordingly appointed professor in criminology and sociology on the faculty of law. Like Steinmetz, Bongers was a jurist. He had come to sociology through the study of the social conditions which influence the commission of

³ A. N. J. den Hollander, *De Laudelijke Arme Blanken in het Zuiden der Vereenigde Staten* (Den Haag, 1933).

criminal offenses.⁴ He delivers a course covering a period of seven years in the history of sociological thought from Plato down to the present.

The third instructor of sociology in Holland is the present author, who has served as assistant professor of sociology at the University of Leiden since 1933.⁵ After a quarter of a century from the retirement of Steinmetz, sociology was thus again included in the curriculum of this university.

The study of the theories of the state and the law in which jurists have been so bitterly opposed to one another, where the sovereignty of God, of the people, of the state, and of the law have each been passionately defended, led the author in the direction of sociology. It appeared to him that these different conceptions had need of a common ground upon which they could approach each other. His attention was drawn to McDougall's work, *The Group Mind*, and he came to the conclusion that not only the theories of the state, but equally the theories of law, should be considered as reflections of different stages in social and

⁴ Bongers became professor of criminology and sociology at the University of Amsterdam in 1922. In 1924 he founded, and has since edited, the Dutch sociological journal *Mensch en Maatschappij*. He received the honorary doctorate from the University of Brussels in 1934, was made a member of the Institut International de Sociologie in 1935, and was elected president of the Netherland Sociological Society in 1936. His chief books (English titles) are *Criminality and Economic Conditions* (1905, American Ed., 1915); *Problems of Democracy* (1932); *An Introduction to Criminology* (1932, English tr., 1936). Significant articles by Bongers include "Religion and Crime," 1912; "The Causes of the World War," 1917; "Evolution and Revolution," 1919; "Capital and Income During the War," 1920; "Religion and Irreligion in the Netherlands," 1924; "Intellectuals and Socialism," 1925; "War as a Sociological Problem," 1930.

⁵ J. J. von Schmid was born in 1895. His books are *Political and Juridical Science and Sociology* (1926) and *Great Thinkers on Social Philosophy* (1934). His more significant printed lectures and articles are "The Opium Problem," 1928; "Sociology and the Philosophy of Law," 1930; "War as a Social Fact," 1930; "The Hobo," 1934; "Rousseau as a Social Philosopher," 1934; "The Significance of Sociology for the Understanding of Our Time," 1935; "The Sociology of Knowledge," 1936; "The Sociological Value of Utopian Thought," 1936; "The Relations Between Man and Society in the Evolution of Sociological Thought," 1936. He is a member of Institut International d'Anthropologie (1925), Institut de Sociologie (1935), and Academia Asiatica of Teheran (1936). He became secretary of the Netherland Sociological Society and member of the editorial staff of *Mensch en Maatschappij* in 1936.

mental development. Lectures on the historical school of von Savigny made him familiar with custom as a juridical social phenomenon in contrast to rationalistic natural law as an abstract theoretical construction. In 1926 he composed his doctoral dissertation on "Political and Juridical Science and Sociology" ("Stattsrechtswetenschap in Sociologie"), the sociological part of which was written under the direction of Professor Bonger. Moreover, he had corresponded regarding the subject with Ellwood, McDougall, and Ross in the United States, and with Oppenheimer in Germany.

In Leiden there is a large audience for the lectures on sociology among the theological, juridical, historical, and literary students, as well as among those who are being trained for administrative posts in the colonies. All these students are voluntary attendants, since in Leiden geography is not a recognized subject for a degree, but sociology may be included as one of the subjects in some of the examinations of other faculties. Lectures are given on social progress (Hertzler, Todd, Urwick, Weatherly), on the various theories from Comte to the present day (Barth, Sorokin), on social and collective psychology (Le Bon, Tarde, Sighele, Ellwood, McDougall, Ross, Bernard, Dewey, Ginsberg, et cetera), and on the German school of the sociology of knowledge (Wilhelm Jerusalem, Scheler, Mannheim). Next session will be devoted to the principles of sociology (Ross, Park and Burgess, and von Wiese), to a series of lectures on the principles of social work (Bernard) and upon Max Weber and his sociology of religion, economics, and law, the mental and economic evolution of society (Durkheim, Ellwood, McDougall, Oppenheimer), and the life and works of Ferdinand Toennies.

The other universities of Holland have no sociologists, although here and there are professors who take an interest

in sociology, such as a few jurists, historians, and theologians. The subject has no place in primary and secondary schools. At the Dutch universities sociology must still struggle for its admittance and maintenance. The spirit of the universities is conservative and antiquated in their social respects, although recently a professor has advocated that a change should be made in this respect by following the example of American universities. Their organization remains typical of the eighteenth century. This antiquated spirit is so strong that all who are not schooled in social science, even the most violent democrats, continue to remain under its influence.

There is thus, as we see, no separate department of sociology, and as a subject of study it has to be brought under either the juridical or the literary faculty.⁶ In the juridical faculty the sociologist is in danger of coming into collision with the entirely different mental attitude of the jurist, even if he has himself enjoyed a juridical training. Moreover, in Holland the jurist considers himself by tradition the expert leader of the social life, although the time is long past since, with his dialectics, he has served as the leader of the people in the attempt to influence legislation and politics in the struggle against monarchy.

In the literary faculty there is the objection that sociology does not bear sufficient connection with the other subjects, except ethnology, anthropology, philosophy, and history. But, on the other hand, there is a more objectively scientific attitude toward life in this faculty.

After what has been said above, it is obvious that the

⁶ While this article was being prepared for the press, the president of the University of Utrecht, a professor of ancient history who takes a great interest in sociology, gave his opening address for the new academic year. In it he said that the minister who would add to the universities a faculty of social science as fully equipped as that of natural science would render a great service to both the country and the universities.

On the following day, however, when the Queen opened parliament, the chancellor of the exchequer announced that the budget showed a deficit of 119 million guilders.

influence of sociological teaching in Holland is still very small. The students of social geography had hoped to gain positions as social engineers and a few have attained appointments as such in the social institutions in the new land reclaimed from the Zuider Sea. But the present economic conditions give as little encouragement here as they do to the establishment of new chairs at the universities. Ethnology now provides instruction in the social life of the colonial peoples. It seems highly desirable for sociological teaching to devote itself to giving a scientific basis for those who are to be the future social workers. In the universities there is no scientific sociological basis whatever for their training.

On the other hand, the interest shown in sociology by a great number of students is very lively. University science is inevitably somewhat remote from social reality and the immediate connection between sociology and actual life forms its great attraction for many minds of the present day. There are, however, not a few who are entirely indifferent to this point of view and think that by belonging to the student corporation they can gain all they need for their own careers. This self-satisfaction with their own circumscribed circle continues in afterlife, in the serene conviction that although in theory social problems may exist, for themselves they have no significance. This is the patrician tradition of the eighteenth century, with all its faults, which unfortunately survives in many circles among university trained government officials. A highly developed intellectuality is coupled with practical social illiberality, which expresses itself in abstract discussions, philosophic argumentations, and political schisms, a mentality intrinsically averse to the spiritual emancipation inherent in the study of social science.

But these qualities become evident only with a more intimate acquaintance with the life of Holland. To a

stranger the intellectual internationality of the Dutch is much more striking. This also is a surviving tradition, but of a much happier kind. The Dutch are very much open to influences from other countries. In all secondary schools French, German, and English are taught and every educated adult speaks these three languages fairly well, usually one of them excellently. On the social life of the country, however, the influences from abroad are superficial.

It may be professionalism that makes a Dutch sociologist see things from the point of view here expressed. It is difficult for him to judge his own disinterestedness. He would gladly see the science to which he devotes his life take as large a place as possible in university education, because he believes it to be to the interest of his country. However this may be, it is certain that the subject meets with great opposition in Holland, because the mental attitude it demands is contrary to the tradition of the country and of those who lead in making its policy. Some clerical parties that have been in power since the great war have contributed greatly to this condition by making their own "sociology."

Yet there is an advantage connected with this disadvantage. As the study of sociology offers so little personal benefit in Holland, there is no temptation to study it with ulterior motives. It is only those who are inspired by a true love of the science and those who are prepared to make real sacrifices for its sake who will pursue it, for only these will be prepared to meet the difficulties that lie in their path. This is of great benefit to the science, because it guarantees its disinterestedness.

The sociologists in Holland, in conjunction with the anthropologists, have an excellent journal, *Mensch en Maatschappij* (*Man and Society*), which was inaugurated in 1924 by Steinmetz, Bongers, and others. On April 4, 1936, a sociological association was founded as a part of

the International Federation of Sociological Institutes and Societies. This association began with 120 members, all of whom are received only by invitation. Also, the leading sociologists of the country are members of the Institut International de Sociologie.

In their isolation the Dutch sociologists cannot fulfill their great, difficult task without personal and literary contact with sociologists in other countries, and it may be that their resulting mental internationalism will give them a special place among the sociologists of the world.

THE TURKISH STEREOTYPE

HARRY R. MEYERING

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Mental stereotypes, in this paper, are regarded as "groups of ideas so uncritically believed that they prevent unbiased observation or clear thinking about situations."¹ The list of stereotypes found in the literature on the subject of Negro traits of character, for example, includes such descriptive words as: "sensual," "lazy," "unobservant," "shiftless," et cetera, to mention but a few from a published list of forty-eight.²

In attempting to determine experimentally the extent to which stereotypes influence judgments, it would be desirable to have a situation which has recently undergone definite changes. Persons could then be asked to pass judgment upon the present observation and a record could be made of their responses to see whether they used stereotyped phrases or carefully thought-out answers in describing their reactions. Such a situation should be sufficiently foreign so that subjects are not forced to deal with it habitually, and yet of sufficient importance so that, through regular channels of communication, observers may have the opportunity to know and observe changes.

A situation which appears, in part at least, to meet the above requirements is that of the social changes that have taken place in Turkey during the last fifteen years. Many of the changes are definite and can be described by the use of contrasting adjectives. Because of distance and the relatively small international importance of Turkey, the

¹ H. B. English, *A Student's Dictionary of Psychological Terms* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), p. 118.

² Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *Negro in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922).

changes were not of sufficient interest to compel habitual attention, yet were of enough significance that they were recorded in newspapers, magazines, and books, so that there was an opportunity to form new mental concepts in keeping with changed conditions.

The Turkish nation in times past has not been regarded favorably. In America the word "Turkey" has been associated with massacres and mysteries. Upon reading the blood-curdling acts of war, many Americans agreed with Carlyle³ that "The unspeakable Turk should be immediately struck out of the question and the country left to honest European guidance." Similarly, there are doubtlessly many others who are enchanted by the "glamour and the charm of the beginning of the East where Turkish baths, veiled women and harems cast their spell on the Westerner."⁴

The decline of the old Turkish Empire and the phenomenal rise of the new republic, beginning in 1922, followed by the diplomatic victory at Lausanne, resulted in not only a new form of government, but many fundamental and revolutionary changes, which included the abolishing of the Sultanate and the Caliphate and proclaiming a new republic with a president to be elected every four years. New laws in 1925 abolished polygamy and enforced the registration of marriages, thus ending the institution of the harem, which had gradually been losing ground because of economic reasons. In 1926, the Islamic code of law was replaced by modern codes of law patterned after the Swiss, Italian, and German codes. In 1928, the National Assembly enacted the substitution of the Latin alphabet for the Arabic characters which, because of their difficulty to master, were estimated to be responsible for

³ Thomas Carlyle in a "Letter to a Meeting at St. James Hall," London, 1876.

⁴ Leland James Gordon, *American Relations with Turkey* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), p. 3.

80 per cent of Turkey's illiteracy. Compulsory adult education is asserted to have reduced illiteracy from 85 to 42 per cent.⁵ In 1930, women were given the right to vote. Following the census experience of 1927, a reform has been introduced to compel Turks to adopt surnames. The fez has given way to the hat and cap. New schools are being rapidly built as well as roads and harbors. As a member of the League of Nations, Turkey is co-operating with other nations in attempting to stamp out the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs.

This paper attempts to see to what extent these progressive changes have entered into the consideration of judgments concerning Turks and to what extent stereotypes which were thought to describe them in times past are still used by a college group today.

Previous studies of racial attitudes of college students tend to rank the Turk unfavorably. In Bogardus' study⁶ of "Social Distance and Its Origins," the greatest antipathy was shown to be toward the Turks. Reinhardt,⁷ making a comparative study of the prejudices of northern and southern students, found that without exception, all of the northern and southern students wished to exclude the Turks from their families. The West Virginia students agreed with Bogardus' Pacific Coast subjects in showing greater prejudice against the Turk than against the Negro. Young,⁸ sampling the prejudices which students had against particular groups, found that the Turks rated the lowest.

Thurstone,⁹ working out an attitude scale for twenty-

⁵ *The World Almanac* (New York: World Telegram Press, 1935), p. 705.

⁶ E. S. Bogardus, "Social Distance and Its Origin," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1925, 9: 299-308.

⁷ J. M. Reinhardt, "Students and Race Feeling," *The Survey*, 1928, 61: 239-240.

⁸ D. Young, "Some Effects of a Course in American Race Problems on Race Prejudice of 450 Undergraduates at the University of Pennsylvania," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1927, 22: 235-42.

⁹ L. L. Thurstone, "An Experimental Study of Nationalities Preferences," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1927, 21: 384-400.

one nationalities through the judgments of 239 students at the University of Chicago, on a six-point scale, found that the Turk ranked next to the bottom, with a rating of 5.82. Katz and Allport¹⁰ show that at Syracuse University the racial aversion toward the Turks was practically the same as that found by Bogardus in various parts of the country.

The Turkish foreign-born population makes up a very small part of the American total foreign-born population. The 1930 United States Official Census reported that less than .03 per cent of our total foreign-born population come from Turkey; many of these are Turkish-born but of minority nationalities such as Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Jews. It is probable that few of the students have had opportunities for direct contacts with the Turks. Hence, it seems clear that some kind of mental stereotype was operating in producing this almost unanimous dislike for Turks. In the light of Turkey's reorganization and social changes during the past few years, it was thought that it might be interesting to know what stereotypes the college student today associates with the Turk. To get a clearer picture, the Turk is not compared with other nationalities in this study but both favorable and unfavorable concepts are given concerning him.

The purpose of this paper is to report (1) what words (representing favorable and unfavorable concepts) a group of 100 university students, given a pencil and paper situation, checked as associated with the Turkish people today; (2) from what sources of information this group thinks it had gained most of its knowledge and feelings about Turks; and (3) what aspects of Turkish life it is interested in learning more about.

A check-list, containing fourteen words which were

¹⁰ D. Katz and F. H. Allport, *Students' Attitudes* (Syracuse: The Craftsman Press, Inc., 1931), p. 408. See also K. C. Garrison and F. S. Burch, "A Study of Racial Attitudes of College Students," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1933, 4: 230.

thought to be favorable to the New Turkey and fourteen words thought to be unfavorable to the Turks, was prepared as the result of several experimental forms. The check-list also listed thirteen possible sources of information which students were asked to check as an indication of what forces they thought influenced them in their knowledge, or feelings, about Turks. Six aspects of Turkish life were also presented so that the student could indicate what aspects of Turkish culture he was interested in learning more about. Blanks were provided so that personal items could be written in under each of the above divisions as well as a place provided for the student's sex and age. The complete form of the check-list follows, together with an indication by plus and minus signs as to which words are regarded as favorable and unfavorable respectively.

THE TURK¹¹

Please check the blanks in front of those words which you think of when you think of the Turkish people *today*.

Check only those words you are in the habit of associating with Turks.

- Harems	+ Peaceful	+ Woman	- Swords
+ Sense of	- Fez	suffrage	+ Western dress
humor	+ Progressive	- Stolid	- Backward
+ Trustworthy	+ Western	- Treacherous	- Mosque
+ Intelligent	education	- Stupid	schools
- Dirty	- Massacring	+ Cleanly	+ Friendly
+ Polite	- Lazy	- Crude	+ Industrious
- Sultan	- Fanatic	+ Governmental	+ Religious
		reforms	tolerance

If you think of other words please write them here.....

From what sources of information do you think you have gained most of knowledge and feelings about the Turks? Please check.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
|1. Newspapers |8. Personal acquaintance |
|2. School books | with Turks |
|3. Other books |9. Public lectures |
|4. Magazine articles |10. Missionary talks |
|5. Movies |11. Armenians |
|6. Family discussions |12. Hearsay |
|7. Trip to Turkey |13. Other sources |

¹¹ The writer is indebted to Robert Angell, Professor of Sociology, and William Clark Trow, Professor of Educational Psychology, University of Michigan, in developing this check-list.

What aspects^s of Turkish life are you interested in learning more about?

.....1. Religion4. Schools Others.....
2. Home life5. Dress
3. Occupations6. Government

You are not asked to sign your name. If you care to do so, it will be appreciated¹ if you would give your:

Male.....
 Sex Female..... Age..... Occupation.....

The complete check-list was given to a total of 100 University of Michigan students, 70 of whom were in sociology classes and 30, in classes of educational psychology. All were in their junior or senior year of college. The group contained 50 men and 48 women and 2 who did not indicate their sex. The average age for the group was 20.4 years.

TABLE I

Word and Number	Percentage of Times Checked	Rank	Word and Number	Percentage of Times Checked	Rank
8. Sultan	74	1	16. Fanatic	25	14.5
24. Governmental reforms	63	2	17. Woman suffrage	22	16
1. Harems	61	3.5	23. Crude	21	17
10. Fez	61	3.5	19. Stolid	17	18
6. Dirty	59	5	7. Polite	19	19
29. Mosque schools	50	6	5. Intelligent	13	20
20. Treacherous	46	7	21. Stupid	12	21
Q4			Q2		
25. Swords	41	8.5	32. Religious tolerance	10	22
26. Western dress	41	8.5	31. Industrious	9	23.5
13. Western education	38	10	9. Peaceful	9	23.5
27. Backward	36	11	8. Friendly	8	25
11. Progressive	31	12	3. Sense of humor	3	26
14. Massacring	28	13	22. Cleanly	2	27.5
15. Lazy	25	14.5	4. Trustworthy	2	27.5
Q3			Q1		

thought to be favorable to the New Turkey and fourteen words thought to be unfavorable to the Turks, was prepared as the result of several experimental forms. The check-list also listed thirteen possible sources of information which students were asked to check as an indication of what forces they thought influenced them in their knowledge, or feelings, about Turks. Six aspects of Turkish life were also presented so that the student could indicate what aspects of Turkish culture he was interested in learning more about. Blanks were provided so that personal items could be written in under each of the above divisions as well as a place provided for the student's sex and age. The complete form of the check-list follows, together with an indication by plus and minus signs as to which words are regarded as favorable and unfavorable respectively.

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Check only those words you are in the habit of associating with Turks.

- Harems	+ Peaceful	+ Woman	- Swords
+ Sense of humor	- Fez	suffrage	+ Western dress
+ Trustworthy	+ Progressive	- Stolid	- Backward
+ Intelligent	+ Western education	- Treacherous	- Mosque schools
- Dirty	- Massacring	+ Cleanly	+ Friendly
+ Polite	- Lazy	- Crude	+ Industrious
- Sultan	- Fanatic	+ Governmental reforms	+ Religious tolerance

If you think of other words please write them here.....

From what sources of information do you think you have gained most of knowledge and feelings about the Turks? Please check.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
|1. Newspapers |8. Personal acquaintance with Turks |
|2. School books |9. Public lectures |
|3. Other books |10. Missionary talks |
|4. Magazine articles |11. Armenians |
|5. Movies |12. Hearsay |
|6. Family discussions |13. Other sources |
|7. Trip to Turkey | |

¹¹ The writer is indebted to Robert Angell, Professor of Sociology, and William Clark Trow, Professor of Educational Psychology, University of Michigan, in developing this check-list.

What aspects of Turkish life are you interested in learning more about?

-1. Religion4. Schools Others.....
2. Home life5. Dress
3. Occupations6. Government

You are not asked to sign your name. If you care to do so, it will be appreciated if you would give your:

Male.....
 Sex Female..... Age..... Occupation.....

The complete check-list was given to a total of 100 University of Michigan students, 70 of whom were in sociology classes and 30, in classes of educational psychology. All were in their junior or senior year of college. The group contained 50 men and 48 women and 2 who did not indicate their sex. The average age for the group was 20.4 years.

TABLE I

Word and Number	Percentage of Times Checked	Rank	Word and Number	Percentage of Times Checked	Rank
8. Sultan	74	1	16. Fanatic	25	14.5
24. Governmental reforms	63	2	17. Woman suffrage	22	16
1. Harems	61	3.5	23. Crude	21	17
10. Fez	61	3.5	19. Stolid	17	18
6. Dirty	59	5	7. Polite	19	19
29. Mosque schools	50	6	5. Intelligent	13	20
20. Treacherous	46	7	21. Stupid	12	21
Q4			Q2		
25. Swords	41	8.5	32. Religious tolerance	10	22
26. Western dress	41	8.5	31. Industrious	9	23.5
13. Western education	38	10	9. Peaceful	9	23.5
27. Backward	36	11	8. Friendly	8	25
11. Progressive	31	12	3. Sense of humor	3	26
14. Massacring	28	13	22. Cleanly	2	27.5
15. Lazy	25	14.5	4. Trustworthy	2	27.5
Q3			Q1		

Table I indicates the percentage and rank of each of the words which the 100 university students checked as associating with the Turkish people today.

It will be noted that many concepts which were thought to be true of the old Turkey still appear to be "pictures in the heads"¹² of the average student in this group today, e.g., while many report thinking of Turkey today as having government reforms, the word "sultan" is checked 11 per cent more often. The word "fez" is reported 20 per cent more often than "western dress," and "harems," 39 per cent more often than "woman suffrage." A marked difference in the nature of the words most frequently and least frequently checked is also noted. The difference is that with the exception of the words "governmental reforms" all the words in the upper 25 per cent or fourth quartile are unfavorable and all the words in the lower 25 per cent or first quartile are favorable but seldom rated.

To determine the degree to which the group rated the Turk favorably or unfavorably Table II presents the corrective index of each pair of words which was thought to be both favorable and unfavorable to the Turks. The corrective index is the percentage of the number of times the unfavorable concept was checked for each pair of words. Thus, if the pair of words "harems" and "woman suffrage" together received 83 checks and "harems," the unfavorable concept, received 61 checks, the corrective index or percentage of unfavorable replies would be 73.6.

It will be noted that in this given situation the average student of this group reports thinking of association words unfavorable to the Turks 70.1 per cent of the time. With but one exception, unfavorable words are associated with the Turks more often than are favorable words.

Closer examination of the data, however, shows that it

¹² Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922).

TABLE II

CORRECTIVE INDEX OF THE UNFAVORABLE WORDS OF FOURTEEN PAIRS OF FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE WORDS REGARDING THE TURKISH PEOPLE CHECKED BY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

<i>Pairs of Words</i>		<i>Number of Replies</i>		
<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Corrective Index</i>
1. Dirty	Cleanly	59	2	96.8
2. Treacherous	Trustworthy	46	2	95.9
3. Stolid	Sense of humor	17	3	85.0
4. Swords	Peaceful	41	9	82.0
5. Massacring	Friendly	28	8	77.8
6. Lazy	Industrious	25	9	73.6
7. Harems	Woman suffrage	61	22	73.4
8. Fanatic	Religious tolerance	25	10	71.5
9. Fez	Western dress	61	41	59.9
10. Mosque schools	Western education	50	38	56.9
11. Sultan	Governmental reforms	74	63	54.1
12. Backward	Progressive	36	31	53.8
13. Crude	Polite	21	19	52.5
14. Stupid	Intelligent	12	13	48.0
Average				70.1

is scarcely fair to average two individuals, one pro-Turk, the other anti-Turk, and give the result of the combined score divided by two as the reaction of both. Table III shows the individual responses of ten students in an educational psychology class to each word on the check-list, together with the corrective index of the percentage of times they associate favorable words with the Turk in this given situation.

Table III indicates that there is a wide difference in the reactions of individuals in this sample group regarding the kind of words which they report they associate with Turks; e.g., students numbers 3, 6, and 7 checked no words favorable to the Turk while all the words that student number 8 checked were favorable.

TABLE III
INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES OF TEN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TO EACH
WORD IN THE "TURK" CHECK-LIST TOGETHER WITH
CORRECTIVE INDEX OF UNFAVORABLE RESPONSES.

Student Number	Unfavorable Words Number*																												Favorable Words Number*	Corrective Index Per Cent of Unfavorable Words Checked		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29		30	31
1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	83.4
2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	91.7
3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	100.0
4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	90.0
5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	66.6
6	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	100.0
7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	100.0
8																																0.0
9	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	87.5
10	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	91.0

* Number refers to number of word in Table I, page 117

The examination of other cases bears out this contention. Therefore, it is probably safe to say that in regard to associating words with Turks the average student is not neutral or critical but has a decided liking or dislike for them. This agrees with Lippmann's statement that "A pattern of stereotypes is not neutral."¹³

Table IV shows from what sources of information students think they gain most of their information and feelings about Turks.

TABLE IV

SOURCES OF INFORMATION REGARDING TURKISH PEOPLE CHECKED BY
100 UNIVERSITY STUDENTS.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Percentage of those who checked item</i>
Newspapers	74
Magazine articles	59
Movies	57
Hearsay	54
Other books	45
School books	41
Public lectures	25
Other sources	17
Missionary talks	12
Armenians	10
Family discussions	9
Personal acquaintance with Turks	4
Trip to Turkey	0

Table IV seems to indicate that the Turk is not known as an individual by many of the group. In fact, the above table tends to bear out the contention that the choice of the Turk as the subject for the study of stereotypes was indeed a happy one. While the average student has little opportunity to know the Turk firsthand, he still holds fast to his unfavorable stereotypes to such a degree as to prevent him from making unbiased observation in current newspapers, magazine articles, and movies. He

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

sees and seeks what he wants to see and does not note the changed conditions which have been reported about Turkey. A glance at any standard newspaper or magazine index is sufficient to indicate that the press has, during the past few years, presented a dramatic story of the New Turkey. Few movies today contain unfavorable Turkish scenes but Oriental scenes are often labeled "Turkish" in keeping with current stereotypes by the spectators.

Follow-up conversations with many of the subjects of this experiment lead one to believe that many of the stereotypes are of long standing. Many report that they received their most vivid impressions of Turks while still in the grade schools. Here textbooks may have aided in crystallizing unfavorable attitudes, for school books, especially geographies and histories, have in the past given decided views unfavorable to the Turks. Examples of this are:¹⁴ "The Turks have desolated and polluted with robbery and murder one of the fairest lands of the world," found in Tarr and McMurry, *New Geographies*; and "The Turks are a fierce yellow race," from Carpenter's *Europe*.

Summary and Conclusions

1. A stereotype is regarded in this paper "as a group of ideas so uncritically believed that it prevents unbiased observation or clear thinking about a situation."
2. The purpose of the study was to see (a) to what degree a group of 100 university students would associate favorable and unfavorable words representing stereotypes and modern changes when thinking of the Turkish people today, in a paper and pencil situation; (b) from what sources they thought they had gained most of their knowledge and feelings about Turks; and (c) what aspects of Turkish life they were interested in learning more about.

¹⁴ Quoted from Bessie Pierce, *Civic Attitudes in Textbooks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932).

3. Students in the project checked on an average of 70.1 as many unfavorable words concerning Turks as they did favorable words. ✓
4. Examination of the data reveals that many students show a decided dislike or liking for Turks by marking rather consistently favorable or unfavorable words.
5. In spite of the fact that indexes of current publications show that considerable space has been given, during recent years, to describing social changes in Turkey, students indicate that they think they have gained most of their (unfavorable) information from these sources.
6. While it must be granted that this project presented only a paper and pencil situation, there seems little reason to believe that students on the whole reacted to it less favorably than they would to many other situations involving judgments concerning nationalities not known personally. It seems significant that past propaganda efforts have succeeded in building up types of unfavorable stereotypes which are so uncritically believed that they prevent unbiased observation or clear thinking about changed conditions in Turkey today by a majority of a group of university students.

SOCIAL CLASSES IN A STATE UNIVERSITY

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One of the ideals of our democratic society is free public education. This is a basic necessity for the establishment of equality of opportunity. We have met this need fairly adequately in our lower school system. What of higher education? To what extent do the expense of tuition, the cost of living away from home, and the necessity of helping to support a family influence the selection of students from the various economic levels of society?

The method used in this study was the classification of the student population of the University of Washington roughly into four economic classes, on the basis of the registration slips which the students themselves filled out. This was done for two different times: the fall quarter of 1933, which was near the trough of the depression, and the winter quarter of 1937, which represented a somewhat more prosperous period. These figures were then compared with those for the working population of the entire state. The 1937 figures were also broken down according to sex lines. The results are shown in the following table and accompanying graph:

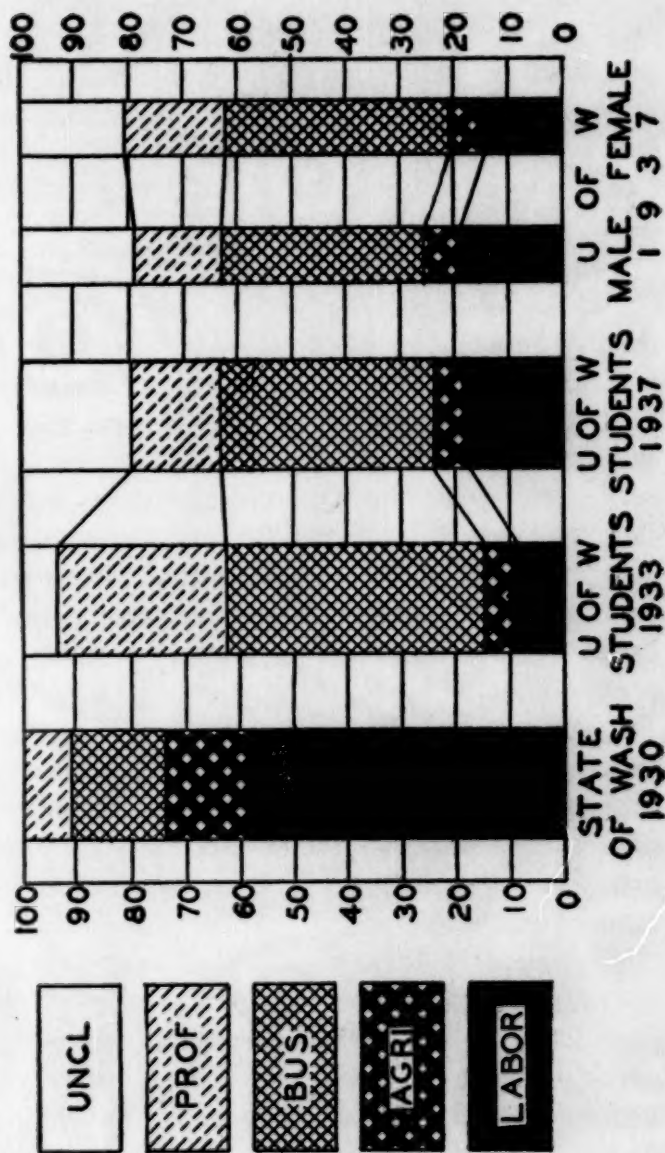
CLASS DIVISIONS OF GENERAL POPULATION AND OF UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON STUDENTS
By Per Cent of Totals

Class Division	U.S., 1930 ¹	State of Wash., 1930 ²	U. of W. Students, 1933	U. of W. Students, 1937	U. of W. Male, 1937	U. of W. Female, 1937
(Unclassified)			(6.6)	(20.6)	(21.1)	(19.8)
Professional	6.7	9.8	31.0	16.9	15.8	18.5
Business	11.2	16.6	47.9	38.8	37.4	41.2
Agricultural	21.4	15.7	5.8	6.3	6.5	6.1
Labor	60.7	57.9	8.7	17.4	19.2	14.3

¹ From Cooley, Angell and Carr: *Introductory Sociology*, p. 297.

² From U.S. Bureau of Census reports, 1930.

CLASS ORIGINS OF UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
STUDENTS IN 1933 & 1937



These results show that the labor and agricultural groups send far less students to the University than the population figures would lead us to expect, while the business and professional groups send far more than their expected share. Taking the ratio of students in 1937 to total wage earners in the state, we find that a child of the business or professional class is approximately seven times as likely to be in college as a child of the agricultural or labor class.

Comparing the 1933 and 1937 figures, it becomes apparent that the lightening of the depression has benefited chiefly the working class, whose percentage of representation doubled in the four-year period of economic upswing. Probably a major factor in this rise was the distribution of more than 900 National Youth Administration jobs to needy students. The apparent shrinkage in the business class and especially in the professional class is a shrinkage in proportion but not in actual numbers. Total enrollment nearly doubled in the four-year period. The children of these middle-class groups were apparently not greatly affected by the depression.

A comparison of the male and female students in 1937 shows that more men than women come from a labor background, while more women than men come from business and professional homes. This may be partly because men find it easier to get jobs and work their way through school than women do.

Criticisms of these conclusions are: (1) the students may not have been accurate or honest in all cases in putting down their parents' occupations, since there was no check on this; (2) there was a large increase of unclassified students in 1937 as compared with 1933, due chiefly to a greater laxity in filling out the registration slips; (3) there was some difficulty in classifying borderline cases, which created a small margin of error. In addition, (4)

there was no way to get at the number of children of college age in the various classes of the general population; but if correction had been made for this, the probability of students from labor and agricultural families attending college would be even lower.

Allowing for these factors, the differences are still striking. The high proportion of students from the business and professional classes may explain to the college teacher the prevalence of certain attitudes and prejudices among his students. In conclusion, these results show that democracy in higher education has not yet been extended fully to great sections of our population.

ORGANIZED RELIGION AND SOCIAL REFORM

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Although there is, of course, no such thing as religion in the singular, within the collective term "religion" there are many religions. As examples of organized religions may be mentioned Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Confucianism, Taoism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and many other ancient, as well as recent and contemporary, religions.¹ Some of these have had personal founders, but all religions are regarded by the author as social institutions and, as such, as social products. Although religions have traits in common, each is in a sense the unique product of a particular society and its environment, and has taken shape or has acquired content according to how the institution has served the people.

Religions may be essentially conservative, but none is static in form or content. Organized religions have functioned and will continue to function in complex systems of institutions, some of which are primarily economic or political or of other social nature, and all of them are subject to change. Institutions may change at varying rates, and thus one or more may seemingly take the lead while others lag behind, thus causing institutional conflict, but the tendency is for institutions to move in a direction for equilibration and for harmony one with the others. That is, as institutions change, they influence each other reciprocally, but at times certain institutions (for some of which there may be recognized ideologies) appear more domi-

¹ Even for primitive peoples the religions have complex and sometimes rigorous organization, but these elementary religions are not usually included as organized religions. Their animism, mysticism, supernaturalism, et cetera, may exist as survivals in the "higher" religions. Religions have tended to become increasingly social in their values. Fears of the supernatural have been largely replaced by fears of social insecurity.

nant than others, and we almost forget the reciprocal relationship that actually exists.

As we look back into the history of civilization (and we must also take into account the life of primitive peoples), one of the chief differentiating characteristics of man as superior to other animals seems to be religion, and mankind as a whole may be credited as being universally religious. Religion has been one of the most powerful factors in human history. In ancient Egypt and in several other ancient civilizations of the Near East religion has repeatedly loomed up as a powerful institution, so dominant, indeed, that the imperialism and the other policies of these ancient peoples were shaped mainly according to their religious zeal and religious enlightenment. In the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations religion was also a leading institution, but for them, religious, political, and economic institutions were more closely intertwined than seems to be the case with us today. Religion and state were one for the Greeks and also for the Romans. With us there is a separation of the two institutions, just as there is characteristically a division of labor, and we are thus misled into thinking of our institutions as functioning separately. Such separate function is an illusion. As has been suggested above, all of our institutions must be reciprocally influenced by any changes that occur in the social setting. The history of any institution would be in itself a story of emergent evolution. One of the best examples of such culture change is found in the story of Hinduism.

Hinduism is the oldest existing organized religion. Its origin is unknown but is estimated anywhere from 2000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. The first stage, featuring nature worship, had as its sacred scriptures, the four Vedas. Next to appear was Priestly Hinduism, with the Brahmanas for its literature, with special emphasis on the sacrifices. Then followed Philosophic Hinduism, with its Upanishads;

next, Legalistic Hinduism, with its Laws of Manu; then Devotional Hinduism, featuring the Bhagavad-Gita, which gives a new formulation of religion in terms of devotion; lastly, Popular Hinduism, with its Epics and Puranas. In this sequence or evolution certain ancient qualities survive, but at intervals of centuries new qualities are seen to have emerged and these reflect the influences of invading peoples or other changing conditions for the society that produced, within a period of time from perhaps 2000 B.C. to 250 A.D., the six stages of Hinduism briefly outlined above. And the Hindu religion has continued to change ever since. Thus have all other religions grown, including Christianity.

As an organized religion, Christianity has at times been a rather dominant institution. This is well exemplified by extensive literature dealing with the doctrine of church supremacy over political and economic institutions in medieval times, the classic theory of the two swords, the strength of the church during the Holy Roman Empire, the dominance of the church before the Reformation. Since the Reformation, the church has taken a somewhat minor role as an institution.

Political and economic forms have developed seemingly more independent of religion and certainly less controlled by such an organization as the Roman Catholic Church. The church, of course, is in itself an organization and an institution; but there have been religions without churches, notably the ancient Greek and Roman religions, and therefore we must not confuse religions with churches. However, in the Western world, church and religion have become practically synonymous or interchangeable in usage of terms, and it is through the church organization that the Christian religion becomes more or less tangible as a functioning institution. Thus it becomes important to account for churches that defensively protect dogmas, theolo-

gies, and rituals that may be many centuries old. Such antiquated churches illustrate culture lag. Insofar as organized religion is a factor, its ideas and values and capacity for leadership may have become so untimely that there may be acute conflict with other institutions when revolutionary change occurs. The best modern example of this was in connection with the Russian Revolution. The Greek Orthodox Church was a thousand years out of date. Its mysticism and superstition were directly in conflict with the enlightened and scientific outlook of the reformers, and therefore the influence of the church had to be broken. Besides, the church had become a political thing: it was supported by state taxation; it was one of the chief bulwarks of the former Tsardom; it was a protective device by means of which the vested interests or privileged few kept in submission the masses of the people. The church had thus become an instrument of exploitation rather than a leader for a richer life for the masses. That was why the bolsheviki had to make war against the church as well as against political and economic institutions of the Tsarist Empire, in order to establish new forms of organization for the U.S.S.R.² Religion was regarded by Marx and Lenin as an opiate for the people. As a substitute, the people were given a philosophy of communism, and the youth were taught atheism or were taught communism as though it were a religion. We will soon take up the question of whether socialism, communism, and Fascism are indeed religions.

At this point, however, let us not overlook the experience of the Catholic Church when it became both rich and political prior to the Reformation; also note the fairly recent confiscation of church property in Spain and

² If revolutions were to occur in other countries where a so-called state church exists, supported by compulsory taxation and land holdings, such church organizations would doubtless meet opposition from a workers' society or government. The Russian persecution of churches is quite typical of institutional conflict during revolutionary outbreaks.

Mexico, and the encroachment upon it by government and political institutions. In Italy, Mussolini challenged the power of the Pope and finally avoided a delicate situation, but clearly retained political dominance unto himself. In Germany, Hitler has also challenged the independence of church organizations, because as self-governing institutions they represent democracy which is held antithetical to his leadership as a dictator. Democracy in the church is in theory (and this is also true in practice in Germany) contrary to Hitler's brand of Fascism. Besides, Hitlerism, or National Socialism, or Fascism—call it what you will—is being offered the German people as another form of religion.

To what extent is Fascism, whether Italian or German, actually a religion? What should be the role of organized religion in countries where Fascism is the dominant ideology? The same questions may be asked about both socialism and communism as they exist in Russia. They apply equally well with reference to capitalism in other Western countries.

Here in the United States, where the so-called capitalist system prevails, our organized religions function without making any notable challenge against the economic system of production and distribution, and without any sensational criticism of the political institutions, whether local, state, or national. Obviously, our organized religions and our churches are more or less attuned to the economic and political life of our society. But what if it be true that capitalism is failing in this country? If that system were to break down, then there would be resultant changes in science, literature, art, economic and political and religious institutions alike. Is it possible for organized religion to assume a position of leadership in order that the welfare of the masses may be safeguarded or may be more fully realized than is the case at present?

Too often in the past, the church or the organized religion prevailing in the West has used its power not to lead but to suppress. This might be because the church or religion was permeated with political and economic ideals of exploitation and suppression. If capitalism is the dominant economic ideology of a people, the organized religion will doubtless reflect a philosophy of capitalism—not that it is a religion of capitalism, but that room is made for capitalism in such organized religion. This is more understandable when it is pointed out again that the old Greek Orthodox Church of the Russian Empire had to be sacrificed in order to make way for the communist ideology. Obviously, that church organization was in no way communistic, and if the soviet system with its communist ideology were to prevail, there would be needed a new religion which would allow room for communism. Similarly, Fascism, which is designed to protect capitalism in countries where that system seemed to have been doomed, needs the support of religious fervor, zeal, spirit, and therefore can tolerate no religion in opposition to its tyrannical policies. No workers' state, as in Russia, will tolerate the use of religious organizations for political ends; and no Fascist state, as in Italy or Germany, will tolerate interference from the church or religious organizations.

Thus the Fascists have developed what might be called a creedocracy. For the first time since the Holy Roman Empire the political and religious (and also the economic) institutions have been bound up into a single unit. The Fascist party claims that its function is that of a church for its members. The leader (Duce or Führer) is practically deified by his disciples and followers. The state, nationalism, totalitarianism or corporate unity, imperialism, national grandeur, et cetera—of such ideas consists the new religion. Back in the Middle Ages, when the one church dominated in the spiritual sphere, there was never-

theless rivalry between church and state. Now the political party "church" of Fascism brooks no opposition whatsoever from church or other organization. The state is supposedly all-inclusive and the will of the dictator is supreme over every field of life and thought.

Where Fascism is a militant program, the economic and religious and other institutions are seemingly subject to the dominance of political institutions. Similarly, in Russia there has also been dictatorship in all fields including the religious, and the Russian method has been militant. As one glances back through history, it will be seen that the Christian church, when more dominant, has also been a rather militant body. It would be out of the present course of events for any of our major organized religions or churches to pursue a militant policy of leadership. But religious methodology has in the past been so important and victorious and is deemed so essential in society that Fascism and communism, for instance, have borrowed wholesale from its technique. In that sense, at least, Fascism and communism may claim to be religions. It takes more than such a method, however, to constitute a religion. Even when it be granted that in Fascism and in communism exemplary rules of conduct and morals are insisted upon for the members of the party and the followers of either ideology, it does not make a religion out of Fascism or communism.

It may be, however, that basic religions are actually in process of formation for the several peoples ruled by dictators under Fascism or communism, and that they contain marked modifications of values in order to harmonize with economic and political changes. Whether primitive or civilized and modern, all religions are the result of social experience, and Fascist or communist experiences, as well as capitalist experiences, should leave their mark. Thus our religions are in a state of flux; they are changing con-

tinually but relatively slowly except when severe blows are struck by revolution.

However, society resists change in every institutional form, whether it be political, economic, or religious. The institution which possesses militant power may find it possible to break down such resistance to change, yet it is deplorable that any institution should yield to such a method of gaining its ends in leadership. In a democracy, reason, not force, ought to prevail. Each institution should have an equal chance to function and lead. Political, economic, and religious institutions cannot get along without one another. What hopes have we, then, for leadership from organized religion when it is confronted with such ideologies as capitalism, socialism or communism, and Fascism?

It is current information that the churches of the Western world have supported and favored social legislation of many kinds. They have undertaken programs for relief and amelioration. They have tried to educate their congregations and the public to a fuller appreciation of social values. In a word, the churches have been important agents to further the socialization of the people they serve. The churches achieve their purposes through educational processes. However, the churches could be even more constructive, more dynamic in their educational program. Our Western religions have indeed acquired more social values in their content, so that one might speak of Social Christianity instead of simply the Christian religion. Yet it is organized Christianity, for the most part, which has been challenged by communism and Fascism. It cannot survive unchanged.

Organized Christianity will have to be molded to meet the new and developing conditions of Fascism in Italy and Germany on the one hand and of communism in Russia on the other. If there is to be any resistance on the part of

the religious organizations, it seems that it will be a peaceful resistance, but Gandhi has shown us that such resistance is a powerful factor. Through peaceful resistance, or nonviolent coercion, as Dr. Clarence Marsh Case calls it, the organized religions may not only weather the storm, but may resist or retard changes in the political and economic order. Thus they may also sound the keynote for a new order.

Not only political and economic, but also religious institutions may suffer bias. In a country motivated by capitalism, the political, economic, and religious forms will all share in such motivation. If, as in communism, the motive is anticapitalist, the political, economic, and religious forms will all have to share in such anticapitalism. If, as in Fascism, the purpose is to defend capitalistic traditions, then the political, economic, and religious institutions will have to agree and share in such purpose. As the values politically or economically vary according to these or other ideologies, the religious values will either conform or suffer conflict with them. Since religion is justly regarded by many as the finest product of any civilization, it would indeed appear ideal if organized religion were less dominated by militant organizations for political and economic reasons, and could light up for mankind the pathway of progress. To say that religion is a product, in other words, places that institution in too passive a role. It should be more significant as a producer of influences on the other institutions. Political and economic institutions should be more and more enriched by religious values in which all mankind might share. Perhaps ideologies such as communism and Fascism serve us unwittingly by showing that there has been too much lip service and not enough sincerity in observing the way of life called Christian, and that it behooves us to reconstruct our interpretations and improve our observance of religious principles.

Organized Christianity might then serve its people in larger measure. In conclusion, let it be said that not only Christianity, but all organized religions might deserve similar criticisms when they stand opposed to reform ideologies, and all existing organized religions may reciprocally influence the political and economic institutions with which they are functionally associated.

ARMLESS PEOPLE

A STUDY IN ACCOMMODATION

HAROLD WILKE

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The question of misfits occupies a large place in sociological study. This paper considers a small but interesting group of misfits, namely, armless people.

The material has been gathered from letters and discussions with armless people over a period of fifteen years, and also from the personal experience of the writer, who is himself armless. The statements in this paper are based upon the reports of twenty-nine individuals, including a Mexican in Texas, an Englishman, several Canadians, and a Japanese in Honolulu. Six of them are female.

A third of us were born without arms. This group may be considered rather fortunate in this, for we literally "started from scratch," and had no complete re-education to undergo, as do those who have lost their arms through accident. On the other hand, we are unable to use artificial limbs, for which stubs are necessary. Abrachia may be caused by disease of the mother, but usually it is due to unnatural stricture of the limbs in the embryo, and a resulting deterioration and loss of the members.

A larger number of the group lost their arms through accidents. In most cases stubs of arms were left, but only a few have utilized artificial limbs. Most of these accidents occurred during the person's childhood or youth, so that it is difficult to form conclusions about the relative ease of young and old to refit themselves after the loss of arms.

"How do you get along?" is the question we often hear. Man's is a head and hand society, and we, lacking arms, must adjust ourselves to a culture intended for people who have two appendages called hands.

First, there is the problem of doing just the ordinary activities of life, such as eating, dressing, and writing. These are especially difficult and require many years of training; sometimes they can never be done by an armless person. The main thing is to find a new method or a special type of material. For example, several of us were using zippers long before they came into general use.

Dressing is one of our hardest tasks. Only five of us require little or no help; the others have valets, parents, or wives to help them. (Seven of the twenty-nine are married.) Methods in dressing include the following: wearing low-cut shoes tied loosely so that the feet may be easily slipped in and out; cutting off the toes of our socks so that our toes stick out, ready for use; cutting and sewing the sock into mitten shape. These latter devices are of use only to the "foot users"—about twelve of us. One of the number reports that he uses overalls, into and out of which he can squirm his body. Another reports that he lays his shirt on the bed, ducks his head into it, pulls it over, bends down and takes the zipper fastener in his teeth, and then with his foot pulls down the shirt front, thus closing the zipper. Dresses are doubtless more easily managed.¹

Writing calls for various adjustments. Eleven of us write with our toes, and usually write a fair "hand." Three report that they write and paint, holding pen or brush between the teeth. One is able to type thirty-five words a minute, punching the keys with a pencil gripped in his teeth. Another holds the pencil between his chin and

¹ Toilet operations are less difficult. We "foot users" are generally supple, and can hold the toothbrush in one foot and brush the teeth, or hold the cloth in one foot, bend down near the basin, and proceed to wash—including the neck and ears. Some of us are able to shave that way also, and straight razors are as popular with us as safeties. In combing the hair a number of us sit down by a table, tilt the mirror, grasp the comb in the foot, and proceed as do normal people.

Seven of us eat by using our toes as we would fingers, handling the fork, spoon, and cup rather easily. We sit in an ordinary chair at the table, with the foot up to the edge of the table. Two report that they use their artificial limbs; five put their mouths to the plate to eat; and one has to be helped always. Data are incomplete on the other fourteen; but they either depend upon assistance or use one of the above methods.

ARMLESS PEOPLE

A STUDY IN ACCOMMODATION

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The question of misfits occupies a large place in sociological study. This paper considers a small but interesting group of misfits, namely, armless people.

The material has been gathered from letters and discussions with armless people over a period of fifteen years, and also from the personal experience of the writer, who is himself armless. The statements in this paper are based upon the reports of twenty-nine individuals, including a Mexican in Texas, an Englishman, several Canadians, and a Japanese in Honolulu. Six of them are female.

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"How do you get along?" is the question we often hear. Man's is a head and hand society, and we, lacking arms, must adjust ourselves to a culture intended for people who have two appendages called hands.

First, there is the problem of doing just the ordinary activities of life, such as eating, dressing, and writing. These are especially difficult and require many years of training; sometimes they can never be done by an armless person. The main thing is to find a new method or a special type of material. For example, several of us were using zippers long before they came into general use.

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shoulder. Some write with a pencil held in a special contrivance on the stub of the arm. A few of us can use two or three of these methods, and one, at least, cannot write at all.

Earning a living is not so difficult for us. A profession's real requisite is a sound mind rather than a normal body. Then, too, there is always the show business.

Our occupations fall into three classes: (1) a regular profession; (2) a special occupation, requiring a special training; (3) display of one's self.

The first group, requiring an education or special talent, includes two artists, one minister, a social welfare worker, a lawyer, two musicians, and a lecturer. At least four of the twenty-nine are still students—one in college and the others lower. One of the students plans to become a minister, another a lawyer. The economic status of the individual is a large factor in his acquiring the education necessary to enter this group. Sometimes scholarship aid is more easily received, however, and then much depends on the individual's own initiative. Home background, one's outlook on life, ambition, and economic status—these four factors largely determine an armless person's entering a profession.

The second group, including those who fit themselves in some special way for ordinary occupations, usually through rehabilitation or the creation of new jobs, includes six of the twenty-nine. Two have put on artificial arms. One is an automobile salesman, one runs a magazine agency, and one, having added a strap device to his stub, is a railroad switchman and nightwatchman. One of this group is a carpenter, sawing wood and driving nails with his toes. Some institutions and schools provide special types of work that we can do.

The third method of earning a living is by display in shows and circuses: a shaving and dressing act in a carni-

val, the Ripley Odditorium, the Fox Circuit, the movies. Most of these persons have "specialties"—tricks or acts in which they have become adept. For example, one is a crack shot with a golf club held between the chin and the shoulder. Another is an excellent knife-thrower. It is hard to set forth the conditions under which the individual enters this field. One is tempted to say that it is the easiest way out. However, at least one is in his occupation because he likes it, and another because it offers the highest pay of any of several fields he could enter.

Getting an education is not without its problems for us. First of all, there is the simple problem of writing. The "foot users" write either on the same seat they are sitting upon or on a chair pulled close or on the floor. Thus they also turn the pages of the book and do other things incidental to the classwork. Those who use the mouth more are able to sit at the desk and write there, turning pages with their lips, and moving books about with chin or shoulder.

Spending leisure time sometimes requires special evaluation of activities on our part. Several of us early developed penchants for reading. The writer's activities and hobbies are practically those of a normal person—playing ball and marbles, wrestling, debating, dramatics, autograph collecting, astronomy, swimming, driving a car, card playing, and fishing. Other avocations and activities of the group include philately, vocal and instrumental music, drawing and painting, membership in fraternal, social, and religious groups, editing a nonprofit magazine for cripples, sewing, sketching, and writing.

Sports seem to attract us. We joined in many games when young, usually having the rules slightly amended to fit our condition. One boy plays an excellent game of football, having made a reputation as a hard tackler. One of the older men has taken to bowling, using a special ball

with a hole large enough for his stub. Another reports that he skates, skis, swims, and rides. Several can handle a car, steering with their feet. A number like to hunt, and several of the others report that they can shoot well. We skate, hike, play croquet, and even dance. Dancing, it seems, is always carried on with a normal person, who can put his arm around the armless one, with the other hand perhaps on the armless partner's shoulder. We never like to miss out on our fun!

THE FEDERAL TRANSIENT SERVICE AS A DETERRENT OF BOY TRANSIENCY

GEORGE E. OUTLAND

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During the brief existence of the Federal Transient Service, and since its dissolution, there was considerable criticism leveled at it as a potent contributing factor to the problem which it was trying to alleviate. It was stated by popular writers and newspaper commentators that the service itself made the life of a "hobo" seem so attractive that many boys and young men who otherwise would not have left home were lured on to the road.

This argument has been best stated by Minehan in a recent criticism of the Federal Transient program:

The transient camps, however, during the brief time when they were in existence, seemed to aggravate the problem rather than allay it. In 1934 alone it was possible for any male over 16 to travel from Maine to Florida, stopping off en route at transient camps, where the food was fair, and the conditions often excellent. You could enter and stay two or three days without doing a bit of work, perhaps inveigle the director into giving you some new clothes, and then leave. You did not have to travel any more than a day before you would reach another camp where you could rest for awhile. This system tended to create vagrancy, particularly among the unemployed high-school students during vacation.¹

It has seemed to students of the transient youth problem that critics of the Federal Transient Service have blamed that organization without taking into consideration that it came into being in response to a definite need; not that it was created, and then a problem created for it to alleviate.

In a study which the writer has been making on determinants involved in boy transiency, 3,352 cases have

¹ Thomas Minehan, "Boy and Girl Tramps of the Road," *The Clearing House*, 2: 138, November, 1936.

been studied of boys registering at the Los Angeles office of the Federal Transient Service from September 1, 1934, to August 31, 1935.² This includes all cases during the year on which definite, verified information was secured from a social agency in the home town of the boy. Cases where such information was not available were discarded.

It is not the purpose here to discuss the determinants involved in boy transiency. Seldom is a single factor the reason, there usually being found a complication of economic and social and personal reasons. However, it was discovered that a primary or immediate cause for leaving home could usually be located. The present paper is concerned with the cases of boys whose primary or immediate motive for going on the road was the lure held out by the Federal Transient Service itself.

Exactly one hundred boys were found whose direct reason for leaving home was the desire to experience life in a transient camp. This constituted 2.9 per cent of the total group under consideration. Jodie, for example, left his Georgia home "due to travel stories related by his brother who was a resident of your camp in 1934."³ Similarly, an irate Pennsylvania case worker wired to Los Angeles regarding a boy of Italian parents: "This boy touring country expense government we refuse to authorize any further expense his account stop advise discontinuing service to break up this racket."

However, it is extremely significant that of these 100 boys, 94 were Mexican boys from the two cities of El Paso and Phoenix. In fact, El Paso ranked second only to Chicago in the list of cities contributing boys to the total. The peculiar status of El Paso in this connection has previ-

² The term "boy" in the study has been used to designate those males between the ages of 16 and 20 inclusive.

³ This and other similar quotations have been taken verbatim from letters of verification from social agencies.

ously been cited.⁴ So many boys had come from this one city that the California State Director of Transient Service on June 26, 1934, had protested to the National Transient Director, requesting that an investigation be made of local relief conditions in El Paso. The situation, however, did not abate appreciably, and in March, 1935, the El Paso County Relief Board wrote as follows to the Boys Welfare Department of southern California:

This office appreciates the fact that your problem with El Paso boys is not an easy one. We also find them very difficult. The boys have learned to go to California, knowing that when they get there they will be well cared for, and that the government will see that they are returned in good style. When they return they come back with glowing tales of the royal treatment they have received. These glamorous tales induce other boys to travel in the same way, with no other incentive than to enjoy the same pleasures that have been pictured to them. . . .

The next paragraph in the same letter, however, vividly points out a more basic cause for leaving home than the mere existence of a federal agency.

Very often these boys are unwelcome at home. Many of their families live in one-room, crowded tenement houses. Sometimes, when a mother remarries, the stepfather will make the boys very unwelcome, unless he contributes to the family income.

It is clear from this letter that while the existence of the Federal Transient Service provided the immediate inducement for leaving home, more fundamental social and economic conditions were to be found in the background. The fact that in 31 of the 100 families, the chief breadwinner was either on relief or unemployed is also of importance in this connection.

The case of Roy is illustrative of the background from which many of these Mexican boys came, a background

⁴ Cf. George E. Outland, "Sources of Transient Boys," *Sociology and Social Research*, 19: 429-34, May-June, 1935.

federal transient camp appear most appealing indeed. "The C's live in the ruins of a terribly dilapidated adobe tenement in the poorest section of the city. The interior was swarming with flies, dirty rags all over, kids ragged, filthy and unkempt." Under these circumstances, it is hardly to be wondered at that Roy left El Paso "because of the desire for transient camp experience."

The same strain is found in the letters of nearly all of the El Paso boys and, to a somewhat lesser degree, in the cases of the Mexican boys from Phoenix. There, too, word was passed around from boy to boy "of a wonderful camp out there, where they are cared for in great style," and the natural result followed of some boys becoming so enthusiastic "that they have been unable to resist the temptation of going there and entering themselves."

The study did not, of course, bring out cases of boys who left home because of the desire to participate in the life at transient camps other than those in southern California. The fact, however, that the specialized program for boys was more highly developed in that locality than in other sections of the country might be taken as an indication that the percentage of boys registering who left home because of transient camp influence was at least as high in Los Angeles as in any other city.⁵ In fact, the guess might be hazarded that no other city saw such a mass migration of boys as El Paso sent to Los Angeles, and it was this large movement that made the number and percentage of the total directly on the road because of the existence of federal camps as high as it was.

In summary, the study has revealed the following points relative to the effect of the Federal Transient Service upon boys leaving home:

⁵ For a comprehensive account of the southern California program see George E. Outland, "The Federal Transient Program for Boys in Southern California," *Social Forces*, 14: 427-32, March, 1936.

1. Of 3,352 cases studied, 100, or 2.9 per cent, left home directly because of the influence of transient camps.
2. Ninety-four of these 100 cases were Mexican boys from the two nearby cities of El Paso, Texas, and Phoenix, Arizona.
3. Behind the immediate cause for leaving home was found a complication of economic and social maladjustment factors, with one third of the families represented being either on relief or having the chief breadwinner unemployed.

It would seem reasonable to conclude that the Federal Transient Service, as a direct or immediate contributing cause of boy transiency, occupied an extremely small place among the general reasons, and that even in the cases where it did act as such an incentive, powerful contributing factors could usually be found in the form of economic insufficiency, or discordant family conditions.

The writer holds no brief nor attempts to make any excuses for the faults, drawbacks, and defects of the Federal Transient Service. Having worked in that organization for nearly two years, he is only too well aware of its shortcomings. However, it seems only fair to point out that those critics who blame it for being an important cause of boy transiency either have no definite foundation for such assertions or else have failed to produce specific proof for their statements at the time of making them.

The problem of wandering boys and men and families is patently a national and interstate one, rather than a local or community one. It is nation-wide in scope, and only through nation-wide planning and financing and administration can progress be made in providing care for this section of our population and in reducing the amount of unnecessary and sometimes dangerous wandering. The Federal Transient Service, with all its faults, was the first genuinely constructive step in this direction, and it is to

be regretted that its sudden "liquidation" occurred just when it began to appear that a competent personnel and adequate techniques were emerging. Even with the return of better economic conditions there will continue to exist a residue of the population "on the road," and the keeping of this number to a minimum, as well as the caring for them, could best be done, it would seem, through federal action. It is to be hoped that the many lessons, painfully learned, during the brief existence of the Federal Transient Service, will not be forgotten when the time comes, as it eventually must, when the national government will again plan for its migrant population.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF NATIVE-BORN CHILDREN OF FOREIGN-BORN PARENTS

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For the purpose of making this comparative survey of the social attitudes of first-generation students of foreign-born immigrants, an oral questionnaire was submitted to representatives of three national groups.¹

Three interviewers, two males and one female, were used during this survey. Questions asked were typed on a different sheet from that upon which the answers were to be written by each investigator. The interviewers were instructed to note the demeanor and manner in which the responses were orally communicated to them by the persons interviewed, likewise to write answers verbatim exactly as given. For instance, one person was asked: "How many children would you care to have if you were to marry?" In turn he answered: "I won't have any." So his reply was jotted down word for word as spoken by him; also, his manner was described on the same sheet. In like manner, other responses were thus recorded.

From such data it was noticed by this investigator that the Jewish representatives replied more choicely and nicely, with greater precision of language used than did

¹ One hundred and fifty descendants of foreign-born parents from Italian, Jewish, and Slavonic origins were interviewed; each national group was represented by fifty individuals of both sexes.

Approximately thirty-four questions constituted the questionnaire employed. Its subject matter comprehensively covered the following main topics: personal information, excluding the individual's name; nationalistic feelings; religious attitudes; and moral attitudes. Similarly, knowledge regarding parents was obtained by questions asked concurrently under the principal divisions previously stated.

In order to insure a maximum degree of truthfulness to answers given, interviewees were informed before each interview that their names would not be used, as well as being assured that there were no means of identifying their responses with themselves. Consequently, they were to express their personal biases or prejudices.

The author had the co-operation of Mr. A. R. Brasko, a student at the Pennsylvania State College.

the other representatives from the Italian and Slavonic groups. The Italians and Slavs responded carelessly, with indifference to manner of oral expression, oftentimes replying in monosyllables and idioms, or at times even reverting to obscenity. It was revealed, too, that the Slavs possess a greater sense of humor, for they frequently converted formalism into joking and repartee.

To be more statistical and specific, approximately three fourths (38 out of 50) of the Jews answered in refined and carefully selected English and took their questioning more seriously, whereas the reverse was true of the other two national groups.

The psychological inference arrived at from such an observation is that the Jewish descendants are superior culturally either because of inherited characteristics or because most of them were brought up in advantageous social environments. The latter is more likely to be the truth, for according to the answers given to other questions asked in the questionnaire this fact was lucidly disclosed. In other words, a larger percentage of the Italian and as large a number of the Slav parents were revealed to be ordinary laborers or small merchants, while the Jewish parents were revealed to be wealthier business men and successful professional people. Consequently, the children of these three nationalities arranged themselves naturally on the scale of social refinement according to their corresponding backgrounds. Thus, there was a wide contrast of extremes between the Jewish and the Italian descendants, the first group exhibiting a high attainment of social refinement while the latter group showed a lack of, or a complete absence of, such good social taste. The Slavs, however, were midway between these two extremes.

Concerning matters pertaining to religion, the questionnaire materials showed that the Slavs are the most pious and devout worshipers of the three national groups that

were compared. About sixty per cent (29 out of 50) devoted a vast amount of time and mental energy to religious worship. By their responses to such questions as: "What is the degree of your faith?" and, "How often do you attend church services?" as well as by their answers: "I'm very religious" and, "I attend church every Sunday and holidays," one assumes this group to be unusually zealous in its religion. In an answer given by a Slavic student, who is a sophomore in college, "I attend church twice every day and sometimes on Sunday I go three times," one begins to feel a tendency toward religious fanaticism.

The Jewish students, contrasted religiously with the Slav students, would be placed at the opposite pole. They are mild in professing the degree of their faith. Sixty per cent (30 out of 50) confessed a very irregular church attendance. Compared with the Slavs, the Jews would be considered as impious or even possibly as irreligious. But this is not so, for as their other responses indicate, they are merely more liberal and free-thinking.

Located intermediately between these far apart poles are the Italians. The survey indicates that approximately 50 per cent (24 out of 50) are concerned about their soul-hygiene. Probably this is due to the fact that twenty-six male Italians admitted religious delinquency, and possibly because forty-three of the fifty Italians interviewed were male. This was not the situation with the other two groups, who were more evenly balanced as far as the two sexes were concerned. Consequently, as it is a widely accepted truism that males tend to be more disinterested in religious devotion than females, this may account partly for the unfaithfulness that was discovered among the Italians.

On the subject of moral attitudes, the Slavs and the Jews were again widely divergent. The former had a propensity to abide rigidly by moral codes, while the latter group displayed a tendency to liberalism and in some in-

stances by some people they might be considered as immoral.

Comparatively, about sixty per cent (29 out of 50) of the Slavs seemed to possess strict moral principles, while on the other hand about sixty-five per cent (32 out of 50) of the Jews seemed to have practically no moral scruples. Evidently, as further answers demonstrated, the Slavic adherence to moral dictates is probably due to their restricted thinking on universal problems, forced upon them by the doctrines of their religion, whereas, in a parallel way, the Jewish immorality or loose adherence to moral codes is the result of their unlimited pondering over universal problems with disregard to any attempted coercion coming from religious doctrines.

The Italians remained more or less tepid. Some (12 out of 50) claimed to have respected tacitly all of society's moral restrictions; some (10 out of 50) admitted personal moral weaknesses. Others (28 out of 50) were haphazard in their professing, straddling the questions asked with such replies as: "I would be . . ." or, "I would do so and so . . . if." Hence this group as a whole registered neutrally in comparison to the two previously mentioned groups.

Information gathered, during the survey, about the parents indicated that the Jewish fathers and mothers were educationally in the forefront of the three groups, with the Italians behind them, and with the Slavs lagging far in the rear. Apparently about one fourth (12 couples or 24 individuals out of a possible 50 couples or 100 individuals) had college or university training. Nearly one half (23 couples or 46 individuals of the same totals) had achieved a high school education. Of this last one fourth, 10 couples or 20 individuals attained grammar school certificates, and five couples merely acquired some grammar school learning.

The group ranking second, the Italian, displayed the

following situation according to educational achievements: Almost one eighth (6 couples or 12 individuals out of 50 couples or 100 individuals) of these Italian-born parents had reached the equivalent of university or college training. Only one fourth (12 couples or 24 individuals of the same totals) received a high school education. From the other five eighths (32 couples or 64 individuals), eight couples or 16 individuals attained an eighth-grade or grammar school education. Twenty couples or 40 individuals received a limited amount of grammar school education, and 4 couples or 8 individuals received no formal education whatsoever.

In comparison with the two preceding national groups the Slav parents appeared relatively illiterate. For not one of them was recorded as having achieved college or university training. And only two couples or four individuals managed to acquire the equivalent of a high school education. One fifth (10 couples or 20 individuals) of them received what would approximate an eighth-grade or grammar school training. A little over one fourth (13 couples or 26 individuals) progressed as far as the third grade in grammar school, 23 couples or 46 individual parents did not attend any sort of school, and three parents could neither read nor write.

It thus now becomes apparent why the Jewish children are so liberal in their religious and moral views and similarly why the Slav progeny are so narrow-minded in matters pertaining to religion and morals. This fact, as one infers from the above comparative analysis, is largely due to the home environments of both, one group having been brought up in a favorable or intellectual atmosphere, the other in an unfavorable or nonintellectual atmosphere.

Regardless of the amount of training the Slav parents accumulated, they turned out to be the most strict disciplinarians of the three groups.

A quite surprising discovery revealed by the survey is the fact that, according to the answers given, the Slavs were pictured as intensely nationalistic, even more so than the Italians or the Jews, who appeared as having become already thoroughly assimilated to Americanism. This contradicts many authorities versed in the nationalistic psychology of foreigners. An explanation is that throughout their national growth the Slavs have never been able to unite because of their intense local nationalism in Europe. This is most conspicuously illustrated at the present time by the disintegrated condition of the Slavic nations of the Balkans and Central Europe.

The following data were obtained concerning nationalistic tendencies: Three fourths (38 out of 50) of the Slavs showed by their answers to certain lead questions that they were rigidly adhering to the ancestral culture of their parental country, and only twelve individuals had any inclinations toward Americanization. Questions like these: "What is the amount of knowledge you have of your ancestral culture?" "Do you have a speaking, writing, or reading command of your parents' language?" "Would you care to return to your father's or mother's country?" and "Would you care to have your children 100 per cent Americanized so that they would forget about their ancestral culture?" were used to scale the intensity of the nationalism.

The Italians were second in the rating of nationalism. About one half (26 out of 50) showed nationalistic tendencies. Twenty-four of them were well assimilated.

Opposite to the Slavs and Italians, the Jewish group ranked as thoroughly Americanized. Approximately ninety per cent of them seemed to have been already assimilated, while about five individuals tenaciously clung to ancestral traditions.

The Slavs by answering the question "How many

children would you have if you married?" exhibited an avid desire to reproduce prolifically. In answer to the same question, the Jews and the Italians showed a mild or temperate desire to reproduce their own kind. The Slavs expressed this wish by stating they would have 12, 10, 8, or 4 children. Whereas the Jews and the Italians replied that they might have 8, 6, 5, or mostly 3 children.

Hence the conclusion inferred by this investigator as the result of this survey is that, generally, the Jewish students seemed to be more intelligent, more liberal in their thinking on universal and religious issues, and practically assimilated to American ideas and ways of living, than either of the other two groups. The Slavs seemed to be less intelligent than the Jews, less liberal in their thinking on universal questions, and extremely religious as well as not quite assimilated to Americanism. The Italians in intelligence appeared to be on a par with the Slavs, although they surpassed them in thinking on universal and religious problems, and they were markedly more assimilated to American life than the Slavs but less so than the Jews.

HOW SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY MAY BE APPLIED

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Instead of rating applications of social psychology according to the extent to which the scientific method is employed, or on the basis of social usefulness or motivation, it would be possible to classify them in terms of situations. The principles of social psychology are applied either by a person or by a group. (1) They may be employed by a person (a) in self-direction or (b) in influencing or directing the behavior of another person, persons, or a group. (2) The group may utilize principles of social psychology (a) in controlling a member or members (inside the group), or (b) in directing the program of the group as a whole, or (c) in contending with outside persons or groups. This skeletal outline for classifying the applications of social psychology is objective and does not rely on subjective, qualitative judgments.

(1a) Every individual with more or less acumen and scientific skill uses social psychology whether he knows it by that name or not, sometimes employing it for "social" ends and sometimes not. There are occasions when he avails himself of it in directing his own behavior. This may be carried on in one of two ways, either through exercising control "before the fact" or through exercising control "in the process." A young man who is aware of the manner in which people fall in love, i.e., aware of some of the social controls involved, decides in advance that he will not "go places" with Miss X, even though she is charming and dances well, because he knows that if he does date steadily he will in all probability fall in love with her and marriage will be the result. He does not wish to marry her because her family connections are dubious, or because

she is a spendthrift, or for some other reason; therefore, understanding something of the experience of other people, he directs his conduct as he deems personally and socially desirable before the situation develops. The value of studies of success factors in marriage, such as that reported by Burgess and Cottrell,¹ lies in the fact that they will assist an individual in self-direction.

The individual may also use social psychology in a remedial way. He finds himself in the midst of a situation which he considers undesirable and resorts to various techniques to alter his behavior or to change his status. This forms the subject of Dorothea Brande's book, *Wake Up and Live*. Here was a woman of varied abilities who became dissatisfied with her own life patterns and decided deliberately to change them. This may be spoken of as social control "in the process." A person may use various control devices on himself "in the process" to force himself to continue along the same line that he has begun—such pressures as a doctoral candidate uses on himself in completing his thesis. He deliberately sets up situations which, once he has established them, will make it necessary for him to complete another two chapters. Therefore, social control "in the process" may be either reinforcing or remedial. In either case, it is as directive as is social control "before the fact."

(1b) There is still another way in which an individual can utilize social psychology. He may have recourse to it to influence the behavior of other persons and groups. Illustrations of this sort are legion, from Tom Sawyer with his paint brush to a Hitler who, with the aid of others, to be sure, directs the thinking and patterns of behavior of millions of people with reference to nearly every aspect of life. In such situations, again, sociopsychological principles may be employed with much or little scientific skill and to either socially beneficial or socially harmful ends.

¹ *American Sociological Review*, October, 1936.

(2) Social control (and therefore social psychology) may also be exercised by the group. (a) Some members will pay their dues to the local club only to avoid having their names posted as delinquent. Clubs, churches, universities, and professions all exercise control over members for the maintaining of group standards and the furtherance of group ends. The group by its standards also influences the attitudes of outsiders toward itself and toward its members. This is one reason why real-estate men, chiropractors, and others are determined to gain professional status, with a correlate development of codes of ethics, and so forth. Only so can their members obtain the desired rating by outsiders. The group also develops standards, i.e., employs social controls, in the training of new members. This is seen in rituals of the Boy Scouts and the Masons. For that matter, even our public schools are initiatory institutions within our larger society. Another and different situation may develop if the group or society determines to free the children from the culture pattern under which the elders grew up. Even here social controls will be in evidence. This situation may be illustrated either by the Russian school system, which seeks to free the children from the old culture pattern but substitutes another, or by the "progressive school," where parents and teachers are determined that their little Willies and Helens are not going to be subjected to any parental biases, but are to interpret life fresh and *de novo* as it comes to them—as if this could ever be!

(2b) Distinct from the control exercised by the group over individual members or neophytes is the attention given by the group to its own fundamental organization and regulation. Two churches decide to unite their memberships and co-ordinate institutional activities. A city after much debate votes to set aside the old aldermanic council and adopt a city manager system of government.

Social psychology is employed in the process of debate, in reconciling the whole group to the decision of the majority, in handling dissident minorities, in ironing out details of reorganization, in boasting to neighboring aggregates of the local accomplishments.

(2c) Lastly, the group may use social psychology in its relations with other groups, in getting favorable reception for its own plans (the various lobby groups in Washington, for example), or in competing or fighting with other groups (bombarding enemy cities with propagandizing leaflets). In the one case the group is working for the establishment of harmonious or friendly relations or the improvement of its own status by co-operation, persuasion, or other indirect pressures. In contrast there is the method of overt conflict which from time to time characterizes the relationships between groups.

Some persons may contend that a group does not exert social control, but that, instead, a leader in the group plans the course of action and uses his control over the group to make this effective. This undoubtedly would be descriptive of certain cases; it is not so of all, however. One illustration will suffice. The mothers and teachers in a P.T.A. organization are disturbed because of a series of traffic accidents in which children have been injured. The members meet, the matter is discussed, suggestions are offered, and finally a consensus is reached. They decide to petition the city council to erect stop-and-go lights at two intersections, and request the police department to furnish two officers to reinforce the authority of the junior police who patrol the other corners at certain hours. In this case these people act as a group, although, to be sure, a measure of leadership has been shown by some persons. The various members recognize the decision as a product of group deliberation and it has an influence (exerts social control) far greater than if it were advocated by merely two or three members.

SOCIAL THOUGHT OF SUN YAT-SEN

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The social thought that is motivating China today is centered in the teachings of Sun Yat-sen more definitely than at any other point. Hence this discussion is timely if one would understand the new China.

Never before has the interest of people of the United States in China been as great as it is now. Especially has this interest in China grown on the Pacific Coast in the past few years. A part of this concern is an aroused sympathy. Another portion is intellectual, based on a desire to know more about the big neighbor across a Pacific that is daily shrinking by virtue of advances in transportation and communication.

China has seen the rise and fall of one dynasty after another, from the Hsia to the Ch'ing (Manchus). The dates range from at least the twentieth century B.C. to 1912 A.D. What has held China together during the centuries? Many factors, but apparently the emphasis is to be placed on a unified culture. Of the various culture elements that known as Confucianism is perhaps most important. No other term has received so wide a recognition. On the whole, Confucianism has been conservative. It has had a backward look—toward ancestors and the past. Stability amid turmoil has been the result.

Today the stage is being rearranged. Change is in the saddle. At last the impact of Western science is being not only felt but heeded. China is going modern in politics, in economics, in military measures, in religion. One result is to discount Confucianism. New China considers Confucius' emphasis on the past, on aristocratic life, on *laissez*

faire as being somewhat outmoded. She is changing her course. But what will replace the stabilizing role of Confucianism? What will be the spiritual cement that will hold four hundred million people together?

One answer is found in the teachings of Sun Yat-sen. It is the philosophy of Sun Yat-sen, according to many, that will supplement and in a way supplant Confucianism, and that will keep the people united as they establish for the first time a nation in which the people themselves take part and assume responsibilities.

Sun Yat-sen, born in 1866, in a humble home near Canton, grew to manhood greatly influenced by the T'ai ping Revolution. He grasped its original essence, namely, the attempt to overthrow foreign domination as represented by the Manchus. He went further, and planned not only to overthrow the Manchus but to relieve China from foreign economic domination as represented by the Great Powers. He perceived that if the people of China were really to have a chance to develop they must eliminate all foreign domination, economic as well as political. Moreover, he reacted against the control of warlords, and saw only one way of salvation, namely, that the people of China must take an interest in governing themselves.

According to Dr. Leonard S. Hsü, the life of Sun Yat-sen was divided into four parts. The first part extended from birth until he was nineteen and was marked by "growing up and getting revolutionary inspiration." The second covered the twenty years from the age of nineteen to thirty-nine. During this time he was engaged in "crudely organized revolutionary activities" and in attempts to formulate a program. During the third period, from the age of thirty-nine to fifty-three, Sun Yat-sen was engaged in revolutionary activities and participated in getting the new republic started. During the fourth period of six years extending to his death, he formulated and developed his

thought about the "Three Principles" as a means of freeing China from her ills.¹

An excellent summary of twelve major factors that influenced Sun Yat-sen and that help to explain his social thought is given by Dr. Hsü. These factors are:

(1) The control of China by an alien race and the corruption of the Manchu régime; (2) the intervention in or invasion of China by imperialistic powers; (3) the rise of the school of higher criticism in Chinese philosophy; (4) his peasant parentage and his early association with ex-Taiping soldiers; (5) militarism in China; (6) the reform movement of 1897-1898; (7) the growth of nationalism and imperialism in the West and in Japan; (8) the establishment of republican government in the United States, in France, and in other countries; (9) the social democratic movements in the West; (10) his knowledge of Rousseau, Lincoln, and Marx, and his friendship with Lenin; (11) the student movement and other social movements in China since 1919; and (12) his foreign education and his long residence in foreign countries.²

Sun Yat-sen's social thought is bound up in the Three Principles. In the San Min doctrine Sun Yat-sen put his reflections concerning the welfare of China, based first on extensive studies at home, and widespread contacts in the United States, England, France, Germany, and elsewhere, for he traveled around the globe twice. Not only did he know the history of his own country well, but he thought about it long and hard, particularly in the light of perspectives which he obtained while sojourning or moving about in Western countries. His social thought is limited largely to the development of a new social organization for his people. As a reformer he ranks high; as an administrator, low. His philosophy is not that of a scholar but of a person deeply concerned about the welfare of his people and country. There is nothing of the armchair in his social

¹ Leonard S. Hsü, *Sun Yat-sen, His Ethical and Political Ideals* (Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1933), p. 25.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 37. Sun Yat-sen's untimely death occurred in 1925, when he was 59.

thought. It arose out of stimuli gained in moving to and fro in China and in the West.³

While China has made no cult out of Sun Yat-senism, the name of Sun Yat-sen is honored today in many parts of China above every name. Doubtless many leaders are merely doing lip-service to his name, as a means of furthering their own gain, yet behind and beneath all this the Three Principles represent China's major thought-pattern. The Three Principles are parallel in a way, suggests Sun Yat-sen, to Abraham Lincoln's threefold analysis of democracy, namely, *of* the people, *by* the people, and *for* the people. The first principle is that of Nationalism, which is a government based on the loyalty of the people; the second is Democracy, which is a government carried on by the people themselves; and the third is Livelihood, by which government promotes comfort and happiness for the people. Put in another way, the Three Principles mean: (1) The people are to have national loyalty; (2) the people are to govern; and (3) the people are to enjoy life. "The people must be able to govern themselves before they can enjoy the blessings of government."⁴ Hence the second principle, namely, of Democracy, is made primary in importance.

I

In developing his concept of *Min Ts'u*, or Nationalism, Sun Yat-sen pointed out two extremes to be avoided. One is represented by China in the past; that is, a China in which the people have lived and moved in small, local groups, and have been content to leave the rulership of China largely to emperors and others remotely removed. The chief evil of this system has been that China has fallen

³ Lin Yutang in *My Country and My People* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1935) calls attention to another important consideration, namely, that Sun Yat-sen was the only one of recent Chinese political leaders who gave time to writing (p. 25).

⁴ Hsü, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

a prey to militarists within her boundaries and to the imperialistic nations of the world. Within, the people have suffered civil wars due to conflicts between military leaders. "China is suffering from militarists, and the greatest enemies of our country are our own militarists," who keep the country divided "and prolong civil war purely to satisfy their own ambitions."⁵ From without, the country has suffered "economic exploitation by foreign imperialists." She has become a sub-colony not only "of one power, but a sub-colony of all the Powers. China is the slave of ten or more masters." She has suffered not only from Chinese capitalists, "but even more so from foreign capitalists."⁶

The other extreme is known variously as cosmopolitanism or universalism. When China became interested in cosmopolitanism, she lost interest in nationalism, and fell a victim of her foes. Moreover, some people advocate cosmopolitanism in order to take advantage of China. The great Powers have urged cosmopolitanism upon small states in order to keep them small. "Their doctrine of cosmopolitanism is in fact the doctrine of imperialism in disguise."⁷

China needs to develop a strong nationalism in order to protect herself against three enemies: (1) The increase of foreign populations, which will eventually outnumber China with her more or less stationary population; (2) political force of the diplomats of the other nations; and (3) the economic penetration of foreigners.⁸

Sun Yat-sen criticized Lao-tze's description of a nation with no ruler and no law. Lao-tze's state, where the people would live "in a state of nature," is an anarchistic utopia.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁸ Sun Yat-sen in *The International Development of China* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1922) carefully outlines plans for reorganization of China, which he believed could be achieved if the Powers would leave China alone.

But the Chinese people through their political experience "have found no use for anarchism."⁹ Lao-tze's kingdom of *Hua Hsü* will never do for China.

A serious difficulty facing China has been her lack of power of organization, but some way must be found to build up a national organization, or China is lost. It is necessary that the Chinese be made "conscious of the present crisis and of the danger to come if they do not develop a nationalism." After they become conscious of the dangers facing them because of a lack of national unity in a world of imperialists, the Chinese must proceed "to teach nationalism through family loyalty." By beginning with the clans and by organizing them into province-wide organizations, it will be possible to create a nation-wide organization.¹⁰ Then, nationalism can be taught from families up through the clans, the province-organizations of clans, and the national grouping of province-organizations of clans.

Moreover, let this new nationalism be based on principles of peace in its attitudes toward the rest of the world. Do not let the fact that other nations are warlike and imperialistic set an example for China. "Our people are by nature peace-lovers!" Let this spirit not only be preserved but developed "to its highest excellence."¹¹

In his last will and testament Sun Yat-sen relates how he has served his people for forty years and then calls upon his followers to finish the tasks he has been unable to see brought to their fruition, namely, "to awaken the masses of our people, and to join hands with those countries which are prepared to treat us as equals in our fight for the common cause of humanity."¹²

⁹ Hsü, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

II

Min Ch'uan, or the doctrine of Democracy, relates to the form and practice of the new nationalism that is being developed in China. The state is recognized as the most powerful of all social organizations.¹³ It shall steer between freedom and autocracy. One leads to disintegration, the other to static consolidation. If liberty involves acting without restraint, it is dangerous. The Chinese know the meaning of liberty, for they have had a great deal of it, having been allowed to live as they wished in their local communities.¹⁴

At this point the sociopolitical ideas of Jefferson and Hamilton are considered. Jefferson's idea that men are innately good and that government is a necessary evil is put over against Hamilton's belief that human beings are innately selfish and that the "rights of the masses should be limited and checked."¹⁵ A middle ground is urged by Sun Yat-sen. Beware of mob rule on one hand and of autocratic militarism on the other.

A government having five sets of powers is defined: executive, legislative, judicial, examining, and supervisory. The last two call for special comment. Sun Yat-sen, following custom in China, would have an elaborate examination system maintained and permit only "experts" to become candidates for office. In a democracy it is not possible for the people to know who is qualified for office and who is not. Sun Yat-sen advocated a system which he believed would be vastly superior to that in the United States. He cited an instance where a well-trained man ran for office against a chauffeur, and the latter won because of his greater ability to appeal to the feelings of the people.¹⁶

¹³ See P. Linebarger, *Sun Yat-sen and the Awakening of China* (New York: Century, 1925), who emphasizes Sun Yat-sen's concept of nationalism.

¹⁴ Hsü., *op. cit.*, pp. 291ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

The fifth power is that of impeachment which is to rest in a separate group of people. In this way legislators or others will not be subjected to special influences.

To offset the five sets of governmental powers, the people are to be guaranteed four rights, namely, suffrage, initiative, referendum, and recall. Thus, the defects in the government can be remedied from time to time.

Sun Yat-sen distinguished at length between power and ability, that is, between "ch'uan" and "neng." He would have "the people control the political power" and the government assume the political responsibility through its corps of experts. The two, the power and the administrative ability, are to be kept separate.¹⁷

The democratic state is the last of four evolutionary stages of social control. The first or primeval period may be called "the stage of great wilderness." It was the time when man contended with animals for supremacy. The second stage, or that of theocracy, was the age when the gods ruled man. Man fought with natural forces. This grew into the stage of monarchy, or the rulership of autocrats, when nations fought with nations. Its evils were many and it was followed by democracy, which means being governed by principles of peaceful co-operation, and in which the masses are deeply interested in public affairs, or the welfare of all.¹⁸

Democracy is to be achieved by three stages. First comes military dictatorship, as a prelude to a period of political tutelage or training. Finally, when the people are educated for it, constitutional government will be inaugurated.¹⁹

The problem of democracy involves the inequality of persons by birth. This inequality has usually been pro-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 342, 360, 362, 376. Inasmuch as Dr. Hsü's volume contains so extensive a reproduction of Sun Yat-sen's papers, the quotations in this article are confined to this excellent translation.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

moted by autocratic social and political systems. As a result conditions have gone from bad to worse and revolutions have broken out. Sun Yat-sen's theory of revolution is thought provoking. He held that revolutions break forth "for the purpose of abolishing inequalities among men."²⁰

Sun Yat-sen criticizes Rousseau. Freedom and equality are not innate rights. Neither has man entered into any contract with his superiors to give them the innate rights that man does not have.

There are three classes of people: (1) The geniuses are the inventors and creators. (2) The intelligent followers are the spreaders of new ideas through the process of adoption. (3) Then there are the "unthinking majority," who blindly act or react to the ideas of the geniuses. These three are inventors, propagators, and practitioners. Moreover, there are ethically two classes, the selfish, who often aim at raiding others' enjoyment for their own good,²¹ and the unselfish, who are sincerely interested in the welfare of others.

Since the rights of the people are not inborn but created, it is important to train even the "unthinking majority" in the use of certain rights of liberty and democracy. Everyone is entitled to free and equal opportunity "to develop his own natural endowment." All should have opportunity to develop the best qualities in them without hindrance. Moreover, "the moral consciousness of all should be equalized, and all be made to work for the same high moral ideals."²²

Sun Yat-sen disagrees with Mencius's doctrine that "the mental workers govern and the manual workers are governed." He points out that in human society it is possible to invent ways and means to overcome this class division.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 301, 310, 317, 352.

III

The doctrine of the people's Livelihood, or of *Min Sheng*, is designed to enrich the social existence of the masses and to raise their level of activity and thought. Especially do the masses suffer during a period of industrialization or when a change from a rural to an industrial economy is taking place. The first step in social reconstruction is "to promote the economic well-being of the people."

Sun Yat-sen discussed the teachings of Karl Marx at length. He dissented from Marx's materialistic interpretation of history, on the ground that human history cannot be explained chiefly by changes in the physical environment. He held that the problem of livelihood is the central factor in social progress.²³ It is the level of subsistence which determines one's economic and social ideas.

Sun Yat-sen minimized the class struggle idea. Serious as may be the fact that many capitalists take by far the larger share of the profits, while labor receives a very insignificant portion, and while "unearned increment" robs the poor and enriches the rich, class struggle is a social disease and not an underlying cause. The problems of livelihood and of obtaining the means of livelihood are basic. They lead to a socially pathological condition or to class struggle.

Marx is also mistaken in his doctrine of "surplus value" and in his contention that capitalists obtain this surplus value by robbery from labor. Sun Yat-sen held that surplus value is created by everyone "who is doing useful work, whether he is a producer or a consumer." The class conflict between labor and capital is a misnomer. The real conflict is between society as a whole, producers and consumers together, and "the class of selfish capitalists."²⁴ Sun Yat-sen arrives at the conclusion that neither soviet-

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 401.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

ism nor communism of the Russian type is suited for China, with her own special set of conditions.

But something must be done for the workers, or else they will start revolutions. When the workers had little education they did not recognize "the tyranny that the capitalists imposed on them" and that they were being "treated as commodities rather than as human beings." When the workers became educated and "wise," they organized. They used the passive policy of nonco-operation, or the strike. They went too far and revolted against their intellectual guides and became the enemies of law and order. They were exploited by some of their own self-centered leaders. Hence a governmental program is needed.

Two programs are outlined in behalf of the livelihood of the people: one of giving the masses adequate opportunities for land ownership; the other of the regulation of capital, for "the capitalists are becoming unbearably autocratic toward the common people."

Land speculation, which is "a very popular gambling game in China," is to be met by a system of taxation and purchase. The large landowner is to be asked to set a value on his holdings. He will be taxed according to this, and his land may be purchased at any time by the government at the price he has set. Reasonable figures thus will be determined by the owner himself. "Any increment to the value of the land shall go to the public."²⁵ Thus increment will come to the community and ownership will tend toward a wider and needed distribution. This increasing distribution of land will promote livelihood and decrease the dangers of revolution.

Sun Yat-sen's ultimate goal was peace for China. To this end he expressed the hope that "the present spheres of influence can be done away with; the international commercial war can be got rid of; and last but not least,

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

the class struggle between capital and labor can be avoided. Thus the root of war will be forever exterminated so far as China is concerned."²⁶

China needs the development of national capital as well as the regulation of private capitalists. State industries are needed. Capital concentrated in private hands is a source of misery to the masses, but capital controlled by a wise government will be "a source of blessing to all the people."

A good government will provide a normal development of the livelihood of the people. A lack of such development is abnormal. Evils follow in its train, such as: (1) growth of culture is checked, (2) reform of economic organization is prevented, (3) moral degeneration of individuals occurs, (4) social inequality is continued, (5) labor is oppressed, and (6) class struggle is encouraged.²⁷

In summary of the social thought of Sun Yat-sen, it may be said that while many of his statements lack polish, while many do not have depth, and while contradictions occur, many of his social ideas are: (1) novel for China, being based on Western experience, (2) designed to meet the Chinese situation and need, (3) more practical than theoretical, and in the main are hard-hearted and yet idealistic, (4) evolutionary rather than revolutionary, and (5) representative of a new departure for a very ancient culture, while being developed on the best of China's long experience.²⁸

²⁶ Sun Yat-sen, *op. cit.*, p. v.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

²⁸ See Ren-Bing Chen, "Sun Yat-sen, a Product of his Times and the Creator of a New Social Movement," master's thesis, The University of Southern California, for a splendid bibliography concerning Sun Yat-sen.

Foreign Sociological Notes

EARLE EUBANK

University of Cincinnati

The American Sociological Society suffered the loss of one of its most distinguished honorary members on September 14, in the death of Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, Creator and "Father" of Czechoslovakia. Made Professor of Philosophy at the University of Prague in 1882, his title was shortly afterward changed, at his own request, to Professor of Philosophy and Sociology, thus making him one of the first men in the world to be designated by the name sociology. Following his election to the position of the first president of the new nation, in 1918, he continued his academic connection as Professor of Sociology Emeritus until his death. Dr. Eduard Benes, who succeeded him in the presidency of the nation upon his resignation because of ill health in 1935, received his Ph.D. in sociology under Professor Masaryk before the World War, and is now Honorary Professor of Sociology at the University of Prague.

Dr. Rudolf Heberle of the University of Kiel, Germany, is spending several months in special research at the Yale Institute of Human Relations. This is his second trip to America, two years having been spent here a decade ago as a student under the Rockefeller Foundation. Dr. Heberle is the son-in-law of Dr. Ferdinand Toennies, some of whose writings he is arranging to have published in English.

Dr. Adolph Geck, Ph.D. in Sociology, from the University of Bonn, and a former student of Dr. Leopold von Wiese, spent some three months in the summer of 1937 in the United States making a study of "factory sociology." He visited firsthand a considerable number of American factories, making a special study of personnel relations between employer and employee. Dr. Geck is the author of *Die Arbeitsverhältnisse im Wandel der Zeit: Eine Geschichtliche Einführung in die Betriebssoziologie* (Berlin: Springer, 1931).

Two important publications have just been issued from Czechoslovakia under the auspices of the Masaryk Sociological Society. These are: *Sociology of Intelligentsia*, by Dr. Arnost Blaha, head of the Department of Sociology at the Masaryk University in Brno; and *Povolani a Verejne Blaho (Occupations and Public Welfare)*, by Dr. Antonin Obrdlik, who recently spent a year in the United States

upon a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Both volumes are published in Czech, but each of them contains a substantial summary in French and in English.

A new journal, issued by the South Manchuria Railway Company, is entitled *Contemporary Manchuria*. Volume I, Number 1, appeared in April, 1937, and is scheduled to appear bimonthly. Although published by Japanese and printed in Japan, it contains, in spite of its propaganda, certain materials of sociological interest.

Students of criminology will be interested in an important volume by Dr. Raul Carranca y Trujillo, distinguished judge, author, and professor of penal law at the University of Mexico. This is entitled *Derecho Penal Mexicano (Mexican Penal Law)* (Mexico, D.F.: E. Limos, 1937, p. 416). An extended bibliography is included, largely but not exclusively from Spanish language sources.

The Social Services Survey Group of Political and Economic Planning of Great Britain has recently issued a survey containing some surprising figures concerning the existing public social services of that nation. In 1900 the government spent for this purpose an average of nineteen shillings, two pence, per person of the entire population. This has increased more than 900 per cent since then, standing now at an average of nine pounds sterling per person. This is a total of approximately two billion dollars in American currency, or nearly a tenth of Great Britain's annual income. Included in her gigantic roster of beneficiaries are five and a half million elementary school children. Her national health insurance feature alone has a weekly total of eighteen and one half million contributors.

THIRTEENTH CONGRESS OF L'INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE

The 13th Congress of the International Sociological Institute and the International Federation of Societies and Institutes was held in Paris during the first week of September, 1937, in connection with the Paris International Exposition. The Department of State of the United States government officially appointed the following delegation as its representatives to this gathering: Professor Pitirim Sorokin (Harvard), chairman; Professors Fairchild (New York University), Davie (Yale), Willcox (Cornell), Stouffer (Chicago), Zimmerman (Harvard), Thompson and Whelpton (Scripps Foundation). With Dr. Sorokin, President of the Congress, presiding at most of the

main sessions, and Dr. Fairchild presiding at the closing session, the American Sociological Society was well represented.

Officers elected for the ensuing term include: Professor René Maunier of Paris, President of the Institute, Professor Dimitri Gusti of Bucarest, President of the Congress, Professor Robert MacIver (Columbia), Corrado Gini (University of Rome), and Vladesco-Racoassa (Bucarest), vice-presidents. Professor G. L. Duprat (Geneva), who has been Secretary-General since 1930, was succeeded by Professor Lasbax (Paris). It is expected to publish the proceedings of the Congress. Bucarest, Roumania, has been selected as the meeting-place of the Congress in 1939.

Of major interest to American sociologists were the business discussions relating to the possible affiliation of the American Sociological Society with the International Federation. These grew out of the report adopted by the American Sociological Society at its annual meeting in 1936, which indicated certain governing conditions (see *American Sociological Review*, December, 1936, pp. 955-59). A special committee was named by the Congress to give attention to the whole question and to report to the Corresponding Committee of the American Sociological Society, which will in its turn report at the 1937 annual meeting.

Pacific Sociological Society Notes

The Southern Branch of the Pacific Sociological Society held its spring meeting at Chaffey Junior College, Ontario, California, on May 15 of this year. In addition to the attendance of southern members of the society many students from nearby colleges and universities were present. The morning program consisted of a paper by Dr. F. H. Garver of the history department of The University of Southern California on "Constitutionalism and Social Welfare." Interesting sidelights were brought out relating to the inside history of the making of the Constitution as well as of factors and influences responsible for later interpretations of its meaning. The noon program consisted of an address on "Labor and the Land," by Dr. George P. Hedley, California Association for Adult Education. In a vigorous discussion of this subject the speaker reviewed briefly significant features of both anti-labor and pro-labor legislation in

America, and closed with the assertion that our final adjustments will be made not in the courts but in the arena of human relations. The afternoon's program dealt with the problems of relief and social welfare. The chief speakers were Arthur Greenleigh of the Los Angeles County Department of Charities and Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan of The University of Southern California.

The Ninth Annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society will be held at Pomona College, Claremont, California, on December 27-29, 1937. The program chairman for the year is Professor David E. Henley of Whittier College. He will be assisted by Professors F. R. Yoder, Glenn Hoover, and Marvin R. Schafer. Professor C. W. Topping is chairman of the committees authorized to collect information in respect to the various sociological research projects in operation at this time or recently completed. Professor C. E. Dent is asked to continue the investigation of content of introductory courses in sociology, a subject on which some reports were made at last year's meeting.

The next meeting will consider problems of rural sociology, social research as part of the government's policy, and social work as a method of promoting social change.

Social Welfare

SOCIALNE POTREBNE RODINY V HLAVNIM MESTE
PRAZE. By OTAKAR MACHOTKA. Praha: Bursik and Ko-
hout, 1936, pp. 302.

This piece of research deals with "the conditions and circumstances of 11,982 needy families in Prague." The data were gathered by forty-six social workers working under the direction of Mrs. R. Pelantova of the Central Office of Social Welfare of Prague and the scientific guidance of Dr. Otakar Machotka. All families were considered "whose children were on any kind of relief or had been recommended for relief by their teachers." The sixty-eight tables indicate the scope and nature of the investigation which Dr. Machotka has so ably presented in this monograph. Occupations, age, numbers of children, roomers, character and condition of the houses, light and ventilation in the apartments, rents, family incomes, attitudes of father and mother toward the family—these are some of the items concerning which data were secured.

The analysis of the data as given in the English summary indicates that of the 55,436 people (in 11,982 families) 33,155 were classified as "skilled," and 22,281 as "unskilled." "The needy families represent 6.5 per cent of all the inhabitants of Prague." Of the total number of needy families only 66.9 are legal citizens of Prague. Roman Catholics represent 58.4 per cent of the population of Prague and 54.1 per cent of needy families. Jews constitute 4.1 per cent of the population and furnish .2 per cent of the needy families. Protestants comprise 5.5 per cent of the population and 6.2 per cent of the needy families. Atheists furnish 14.8 per cent of the population and 18.5 of the families in need. A much weaker family bond seems to exist "in the lowest class of the population than in the upper classes." The family bonds of mothers are stronger than those of the fathers. "The average income per person among the needy families was 179 crowns" per month (24 crowns equal one dollar). The cost of "the keep of a private soldier of the Czechoslovak army is 232 crowns per month" exclusive of clothing and rent; of an aged man or woman in the municipal poorhouse, 408 crowns per month; and of a prisoner, 629 crowns monthly. This study of needy families in Prague is a contribution of superior worth and will prove widely useful in many countries.

E.S.B.

THE SHORT CONTACT IN SOCIAL CASE WORK. Volume I. General Theory and Application to Two Fields. Volume II. Selected Short Contact Case Records. By ROBERT S. WILSON. New York: National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service, 1937, pp. 201.

Bertha McCall, in the Foreword, points out that these two volumes are a part of a report by the Training Committee of the National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service. In the Introduction, Ella Weinfurther Reed defends the time-limited contact in social work on the ground that it need not be superficial or ineffective. The author defines the short contact as limited to one, two, or three interviews, or to a two weeks' period. It is also characterized "by an approach which differentiates between a single problem or segment of the client's situation which needs to be treated quickly and the problems which do not bear on the situation at hand."

Five classifications of short contact cases are analyzed. A number of cases illustrating each of these types are presented in Volume II.

These divisions are: (1) short contact cases with treatment plan completed in time-limited contact; (2) short contacts preliminary to transfer of responsibility to another agency; (3) short-time treatment relationships within extended-care cases; (4) short contacts on applications rejected by the agency or withdrawn by applicant; and (5) incidental service.

Thirteen professional uses of the short contact are cited. Also, a number of abuses of the short contact approach are pointed out. The role of the "sample situation" is described.

One chapter is devoted to the use of the short contact in Travelers Aid work. Distinctions are drawn in the definitions of "traveler," "transient," and "immigrant." The use of the "sample environment" is explained. Another chapter is given over to the use of the short contact in public welfare work with its heavy case loads and rapid turnover of workers. Appendix A discusses briefly the short contact in medical case work. A bibliography is appended. These two volumes will prove stimulating and practical for all social workers who must speed up their case work activities or who must limit the assistance they render to some one phase of a client's problems.

E.S.B.

SKY OVERHEAD. By CLINCH CALKINS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937, pp. 363.

"The study of *Sky Overhead* is the story of the American industrial worker caught in a trap of commercialized espionage and violence." Thus does Clinch Calkins furnish the basis of the theme for her great (one might use the slang word "swell") report on the most vicious practice in American industrial life. Factual data from the Senate Investigating Committee's hearing on espionage are presented, and the reader cannot escape the truth of the author's charge that the industrial spy has become an institution which has for its main purpose the destruction of effective collective bargaining for industrial workers. As one reads the testimony of the representatives of the great industrial corporations, the chicanery and the sordidness of the practices designed to render the American workman a servile tool for concentrated wealth are enough to make some people question the attempts to save the present industrial order. Certainly the investigation of the Senate Committee has shown that the Wagner Labor Relations Act has been constantly in danger of nullification

through the work of industrial espionage. Over 300 detective agencies are known to be engaged in promoting the business of rendering organized labor ineffectual in its attempts to raise the status of the worker. The amounts of money spent by the great corporations to forestall unionism reach staggering sums. If the sums were applied to promote the worker's welfare it is possible that a good deal of industrial warfare would disappear. The whole business is a sorry one, and if this book is as widely read as it deserves to be, the public will demand a good general housecleaning for industry. Miss Calkins has written her story in an engaging and dramatic manner. It is a story that needs to be told despite its revelation of how the near-great can sink to the lower depths. M.J.V.

COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION. By MARK A. MAY and LEONARD W. DOOB. Bulletin No. 25 of the Social Science Research Council, New York, 1937, pp. viii+191.

MEMORANDUM ON RESEARCH IN COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION. By GORDON ALLPORT, GARDNER MURPHY, and MARK A. MAY, chairman, members of Sub-Committee on Competition and Co-operation, and eight research assistants. Social Science Research Council, New York, 1937.

These two reports taken together serve as the most thorough and useful guide now available for the study of competition and co-operation as concepts in modern social philosophy. The bulletin on *Competition and Co-operation* shows that the technological culture of the Western world, produced by traditional competitive methods, can no longer be enjoyed through individualistic competition, but that a co-operative system has become necessary and that the trend is definitely in that direction. Old definitions of terms have become antiquated, and the social behavior which is labeled competitive and co-operative must now be interpreted psychologically. After stating a rather involved psychological theory of competition and co-operation, the authors present a theoretical analysis and synthesis of some 220 notable studies in the field, four types of approach being classified as experimental, sociological, anthropological, and from the standpoint of the life history of the individual. Sixty-eight specific problems for future research are listed.

The *Memorandum on Research in Competition and Co-operation*, which accompanies Bulletin No. 25, is a research report in the form of an outline or syllabus, presenting summaries and abstracts of

an extensive and well-nigh exhaustive literature. This memorandum, which contains several appendices that in themselves are valuable summaries on special topics, in general supports the main theme and organization of the bulletin. But it does more than supplement, for the volume contributes in unique fashion an interpretative summary of existing literature on competition and co-operation as found in psychology, sociology, and to some extent in economic and political science journals and monographs. Here also are listed research projects and problems, with appropriate references to literature available to date.

J.E.N.

ART AND PRUDENCE. By MORTIMER J. ADLER. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1937, pp. xiv+686.

Professor Adler, in view of the current discussion centering about censorship and the moving picture, has in this new book sought to reveal what philosophy and the philosopher have to say about the problem of the moral and political criticism of the fine arts. Pointing out truly that the problem is as old as society, he shows that the present controversy has disclosed nothing that the ages have not discovered about morals and art. Scientific research has been utilized in the present but it has added nothing to the significance of the relationship, and he declares that much has been lost in the way of insight, clarity, and order.

Beginning with the arguments of Plato, Aristotle, Bossuet, Aquinas, Rousseau, and Dewey, Professor Adler undertakes to show that each age has handled the identical problem of morality and prudence which has faced the expression of the fine arts. As far as the movies are concerned, there has been an effort to get material evidence to support the contentions that they are either a corrupting or a good influence. In other ages, criticism rested mainly upon presumptions. It is proper, thinks the author, "for the prudent man to supervise the ways in which works of art reach their audience, to say, not what shall be made, but what shall be received and by whom and under what conditions." And the end of the artist is "to do good work according to the standards of his art." The artist need not pose as a moralist, this being the function of the prudent man in the form of parent, teacher, or priest. The essays in the book offer fine materials for the guidance of society and its leaders in the whole problem of proper social control in its relationship to art.

M.J.V.

THE THEORY OF SOCIAL WORK. By FRANK J. BRUNO. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1936, pp. xi+646.

This excellent book filled with keen discussions of the fundamentals on which social change and social progress are based is something more than a theory of social work, unless, of course, the term "social work" has finally become synonymous with "social welfare." Most persons cannot concede this point; otherwise the practical program of social work is a mere travesty on the fundamental aim and purposes.

Beginning with the biological and psychological bases of behavior and conduct, the author moves swiftly on to a discussion of the entertainment of social problems that vex us today. Under the heading "Social and Economic Environment" appear discussions of the family, wages, economic independence of women, divorce and desertion, birth control, housing, recreation, problems of employment, and other subjects usually considered under the heading "social problems." The author does not define "social work," but from his descriptions and characterizations of its functions he permits the reader to form his own picture of its meaning and ramifications.

This book avoids statistical talks—a fact which no doubt will add to its longevity, even though it leaves the reader somewhat dissatisfied at the time. Excellent examples are used to illustrate theories and programs, and pertinent facts are quoted.

The author exhibits a high degree of tolerance and repeatedly makes statements which impatient social workers would well ponder carefully. Descriptive bibliographies are given for each chapter but appear at the close of the book. The book is decidedly useful as a text, especially in schools of social work connected with universities where the necessity of grounding students in sociological and philosophical fundamentals is emphasized along with the training in technique and method of social treatment. G.B.M.

THE DEAF AND THE HARD-OF-HEARING IN THE OCCUPATIONAL WORLD. Washington: United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, 1936, pp. 95.

The purpose of this study was conceived as being a guide for deaf and hard-of-hearing young people in order that they may more intelligently make vocational adjustments. The facts, suggestive rather than conclusive, are gathered from a sampling of 19,580 persons covering more than 250 general occupational activities. L.E.D.

NEWCOMERS AND NOMADS IN CALIFORNIA. By WILLIAM T. CROSS and DOROTHY EMBYR CROSS. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1937, pp. 149.

During the depression newcomers and nomads, "the transients," in large numbers migrated to the traditional West. California with its climate and agricultural industries has experienced the transient problem in its most acute form. This study is an administrative history of emergency relief organization and its functioning, and a social analysis of conditions which preceded the adoption of the Federal Emergency Plan for Transients. The volume describes the rehabilitation work now under way for these "forgotten men."

The authors point out that the continued wave of indigent "dust bowl," drought, or flood migrants is a clear illustration of the relationship of economic geography and plans for adjustment or migratory groups.

Discontinuance of direct relief demonstrates the need for a general program dealing with the factors making for migration as well as with the results of migration. Independent action by city, county, or state governments more than ever before gives promise of mere futility. . . . Interest is tending away from the interception of immigrants on the basis of their economic status and toward a public health-inspection service.

Written in the light of current sociological concepts and ideology, this study would serve well as a guide for social discussion groups.
L.E.D.

THE GANG BOY IN TEXAS. By HASKELL M. MILLER. Dallas, Texas: Department of Sociology, Southern Methodist University, Summer, 1937. In *Studies in Sociology*.

Based on personal interviews with 203 gang members in Dallas and 100 in Denton, and also on questionnaire information, the author divides boys' groups into: (1) play groups, (2) random action groups, (3) adventure groups, (4) conflict groups, and (5) professional criminal groups. He also finds that with the emancipation of women the rise of girl gangs is to be noted. "Girl ganging" he classifies under four headings: (1) snoopers, (2) hangers-on of boys' gangs, (3) members of mixed gangs (boys and girls), and (4) all-girl gangs. He concludes that gangs exist in noninterstitial areas as well as in interstitial regions, and that gangs may be supported by the mores and by definite lines of tradition, for example, by prejudices against the Negroes.
E.S.B.

SURVEY OF POLICE TRAINING: Final Report of Regents Examining Committee on the Police Training Project. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937, pp. 71.

The above-mentioned committee has recommended that unless provisions are made for entrance into a new field of education, the University is under no obligation to install a comprehensive system of police instruction. The position maintained is that the University co-operate with interested associations in providing, through the general extension division, in-service police training of the short course type. The committee has made a representative study not only of personnel and administrative practices of police agencies in Minnesota, but has surveyed in general police training in the United States. That there exists an appallingly meager amount of training for policemen and that this training is needed is an unfaltering conclusion drawn by the committee.

L.E.D.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION. By DORIS CAROTHERS. Washington: Works Progress Administration, 1937, Research Monograph VI, pp. 163.

Here is a history of FERA. The author has chosen to tell the story by using the most important of the formal written rules, serial communications, executive orders, letters, laws,—in fact all types of communications between the FERA and the various SERA's. Beginning with its creation, the FERA is traced through to its liquidation in favor of WPA.

P.M.B.

THE MIGRATORY-CASUAL WORKER. By JOHN N. WEBB. Washington: Works Progress Administration, 1937, pp. 128.

Five hundred case records, representing samplings from thirteen different cities, survived the weeding-out process and proved complete enough to serve in this study. The report tells something of the extent of migration and the work patterns of these workers, the duration and seasonality of such work, the specific types of work available, and some personal characteristics of the workers.

P.M.B.

Social Theory

THE NATURE OF HUMAN NATURE. By ELLSWORTH FARIS.
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937, pp. xii
+366.

The publishers are to be congratulated in bringing together in one volume the various articles that Professor Faris has written, chiefly in the field of social psychology. The result makes a far more extensive showing than might have been predicted. A total of thirty-two essays have been grouped under five more or less appropriate headings: (1) group and person, (2) conduct and attitudes, (3) sociology and education, (4) sociology and ethnology, and (5) the sociology of racial conflict. While the ensemble offers no system of psychosocial thought and develops no major thesis, it does bring into convenient compass the greatly scattered products of Professor Faris' pen. Space does not permit a review of each of the various topics. Although known as a critic the author has produced a totality of thought which is far more constructive than many readers of sociology might anticipate.

E.S.B.

SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION: AN ANALYSIS OF SPENCER AND WARD. By ELSA PEVERLY KIMBALL. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 323.

This volume possesses enduring value for all students of sociology as well as for those specializing in education. The plan and execution of the study are both admirable. The author treats first "The Socio-Educational Milieu of Herbert Spencer," then "Spencer's Theories of Education," and follows with an "Analysis of Spencer's Theories." Under similar titles she does the same with Ward, and ends with a chapter entitled "Spencer and Ward Contrasted." In this logical manner the lives and work of these two great sociologists are set forth in bold contrast, and with a force and clearness that is outstanding. Her biographical chapters are distinctly informing and done with discrimination and ample grasp of the sources.

In the final chapter we have a comparative and critical study which shows thorough understanding of the whole sociology of both writers, and which will be read with pleasure and profit by graduate students of sociology and of education.

C.M.C.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, May, 1937, Vol. XLII, No. 6.

This issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* is devoted entirely toward "clarifying the relation between psychiatry and sociology" and contains an excellent symposium on "The Contribution of Psychiatry to the Understanding of Human Society."

The first article, by Dr. Alfred Adler, entitled "Psychiatric Aspects Regarding Individual and Social Disorganization," elaborates the thesis that "all personal disorganization is a sign of lack of preparedness in social interest." According to the now eminent founder of the school of individual psychology, there are two ways of decreasing personal disorganization: first, "by diminishing the burden and confrontations put upon the individual and the masses," and second, "by creating a new institution for increasing the social interest during the time of childhood."

Six other equally stimulating articles are found in this symposium by such leading authorities as Dr. Franz Alexander, Dr. Trigant Burrow, Professor Elton Mayo, Dr. Paul Schilder, Dr. David Slight, and Dr. Harry S. Sullivan. A most valuable review and analysis of these seven articles are given by Edward Sapir and Herbert Blumer, respectively. An article, "Recovery and Social Conditions," by Professor Wm. F. Ogburn and A. J. Jaffe "gives in condensed and graphic form the changes during 1936 in relation to the trends during the period beginning in 1920." "A Research Note on Co-operative and Competitive Behavior," by Mark A. May, is most stimulating. Besides the excellent reviews of a number of the most recent books on psychiatry and related fields, the *Journal* contains a valuable bibliography on "Social Psychiatry." D.H.D.

DYNAMIC RELATIONSHIP THERAPY. The Psychotherapy of Otto Rank as Related to Other Schools of Psychotherapy. By FAY B. KARPF. Los Angeles: Social Work Technique, 1937, pp. 29.

Dr. Karpf has done herself proud in this essay on psychotherapy. She has summarized some of the basic concepts developed by Freud, such as repression, the unconscious, and psychosexuality; by Jung, such as collective unconscious; by Adler, such as inferiority complex, the will to power (or to seem powerful), compensation; and

by Rank, such as will therapy, artistic and neurotic types, and creative personality. Rank arrived at his will concept from studying resistance, which in one sense is a negative will expression and in another "a constructive striving toward independence." He finally arrives at a position long ago pointed out by social psychologists, namely, the interdependence and interaction of the individual and the social world.

E.S.B.

THE TRAGEDIES OF PROGRESS. By GINA LOMBROSO. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., pp. 329.

The author, a daughter of the noted Italian anthropologist, Cesare Lombroso, and wife of the historian, Guglielmo Ferrero, carries on the family standard of learned and readable authorship, writing as Madame Lombroso. Her vast acquaintance with economic history is evident, and her ideas are bold and fascinating. To her, modern civilization is a sad tragedy, and a complete one, as the following list of its failures will disclose: material destruction; squandering the earth; impoverishment of the poor countries; social destruction; increasing cost of living; limitation of leisure; unemployment; precarious conditions of living; nervous exhaustion; pauperism; depopulation of countries; the crushing of individualism; moral decadence; decline of moral sense; hate; confusion; boredom; destruction of idealism, individuality, and intellectual joys.

While Madame Lombroso resembles Henry George in perceiving that modern "progress" is synonymous with impoverishment for multitudes, she ascribes it to machinery rather than to the unearned increment from land. In so doing she anticipated the theme of Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization*. The same general attack is made in a very different yet brilliant way by both these writers, and by others of lesser magnitude. In fact, it may be taken as well established that the modern machine economy is in large part a miscarriage of life, and a destroyer of social values, as well as a creator of new ones.

Madame Lombroso has brilliant passages too numerous to mention. One of the best is her showing that the ancients, of both China and Greece, had machines, and understanding of them, in quantity sufficient to have enabled them to move toward industrialism—but they were too human and too wise to do so. The same restraint caused the people of the Middle Ages to stick to handicraft economy.

"Græco-Roman antiquity and the Chinese civilization were unfavorable to industrialism for political and moral reasons; but the medieval civilization was opposed to it for sentimental reasons" (p. 34). "Sentimental" here refers to a love of the arts and idealism in general. Beyond present confusion the author foresees a "decentralization of industry and agriculture" (p. 324) and at least a substantial return to liberty, simplicity, and peace.

C.M.C.

READINGS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. E. GEORGE PAYNE, Editor. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., pp. xvi+376.

Professor Payne's own definition of educational sociology is "the science which describes and explains institutions, social forms, social groups, and social processes; that is, the social relationships in which or through which the individual gains and organizes his experiences" (p. 22). He does not concede that sociology can determine "the larger aims and purposes" of education, but sociology determines the "immediate objectives in the sense that it specifies the conditions which must be taken into account if the general aim is to be promoted." This involves the study of the home, the industrial order, and various other social agencies and institutions, "and for this end the contribution which sociology can make is obviously indispensable" (p. 24).

The aim of the editor was to provide concrete materials for a course which the teacher might organize for himself, and in this he succeeded admirably. The major part of the volume presents valuable selections from recent periodical literature. This is chosen with a discriminating grasp which results in a book of permanent value. The list of contributors is wide and representative. The chapter on "The Development of Personality," almost wholly consisting of studies by Harvey W. Zorbaugh in *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, is especially good for its factual content and firm handling from the conceptual side. Another informing passage is the five-page article, from the same *Journal*, on "A Program for Educational Sociology," by the editor, Professor Payne, himself.

Earlier writers are not neglected, and the chapter on "The Accumulation of Culture and Education" is exclusively a digest of Sumner's *Folkways*, except for an extract from Professor F. Stuart Chapin's Columbia contribution on *Education and the Mores*.

C.M.C.

PSYCHOLOGY OF PERSONALITY. By ROSS STAGNER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937, pp. xi+465.

A distinguishing mark of this book is the large amount of materials which it contains that introduce the reader to current psychological studies. The findings of investigations that have been made in the last five years or so are surprisingly vital. The author has woven these results into an interesting framework of discussion about the nature of personality. His three major themes are: descriptions of personality, dynamics of personality, and determinants of personality. His method is both eclectic and critical. He has avoided a treatment of abnormal personalities and therapeutic suggestions or anything that might be called applied psychology. While hewing to the line of hereditary factors and individualistic interpretations of personality, yet he recognizes the role of social interaction and the ways in which culture influences behavior. He defines personality as "a quality or attribute of behavior," instead of making behavior an attribute of personality. He also defines personality as a system of habits that is "largely made up of nonadaptive ways of adjusting to conflict situations." By "nonadaptive" the author means behavior that does not serve an immediate biological or social need. Here he is referring to individuality, and thus he is making the unusual contention that personality is largely made up out of individuality.

E.S.B.

Social Research

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON SOCIAL WORK IN THE DEPRESSION. By F. STUART CHAPIN and STUART A. QUEEN. New York City: Social Science Research Council, 1937, pp. xii+134.

Scores and scores of questions are raised in this monograph which suggest the many types of data that are needed if knowledge regarding the effects of the depression on social research is to be built up adequately. A few generalizations are tentatively suggested, for example: (1) "The depression resulted in the government handling the cases that were primarily of a relief nature, whereas private agencies devoted more time and effort toward the treatment of cases

requiring other than relief services." (2) "Perhaps one beneficial result of the depression has been a trend toward noncompetitive organization of public and private agencies engaged in children's work." (3) The hypothesis is strongly suggested "that the activities of the children's agencies, and perhaps the philosophical basis back of them, definitely moved away from emphasis upon institutional care during the depression." (4) Admission standards "to the association of schools [of social work] were not relaxed during the depression."

A number of attributes of a true profession are described: (1) personal service; (2) practical in the sense of being an art; (3) "self-direction and individual responsibility for decisions, planning, and treatment"; (4) based on science and learning; (5) "a technique that is transmissible through an orderly and highly specialized educational discipline"; (6) "a fee for skilled service"; (7) a brotherhood; (8) "altruistic motivation and devotion"; (9) "a sense of social responsibility embodied in a code of ethics." In conclusion, the authors describe an experiment for testing "the effectiveness of a social program, technique, or procedure." This includes a hypothesis, an experimental group, a control group, a scale, and then measurement at the beginning and at the end of the experiment. Altogether the monograph contains many stimulating suggestions.

E.S.B.

THE CO-OPERATIVE SOLVING OF PROBLEMS BY YOUNG CHIMPANZEES. By MEREDITH P. CRAWFORD. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. 88.

Again the chimpanzee is towed into the laboratory by the psychologist, this time to discover what kind of procedure the chimpanzee uses when confronted with certain problems (the solutions to which require co-operative action), and to see how he responds to training in this regard. Three different types of situations were set up. Each chimpanzee was first trained to work alone in each situation. Then the situation was made more complex, thus requiring co-operative action in order to effect a solution. The study indicates something of the amount of transfer of that which the chimpanzee learns in the individual situation to the paired situation, and to what degree he is able to transfer behavior learned in one social situation over into another social situation. The social life history of each chimpanzee is given.

P.M.B.

MORTALITY TRENDS IN THE STATE OF MINNESOTA.

By CALVIN F. SCHMID. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937, pp. ix+325.

This monographic study of mortality trends in the State of Minnesota undertakes successfully to present the facts gleaned from vital statistics referring to mortality in the state for a twenty-five year period, 1910-1935. In common generally with the whole United States, the population of the state is gradually approaching a stationary condition, urbanization shows a definite trend, there is an increasing number of older people and a decreasing number of younger people which indicates in the near future an increasing crude death rate and a falling birth rate. The crude death rate for 1935 was 10.0 as contrasted with 10.9 for 1910; deaths from infectious diseases have declined while deaths from degenerative diseases have increased, diseases of the heart being the leading cause of death, with cancer holding second place. Deaths for the male sex are uniformly higher at every age than for the female. Infant mortality has had a steady decline. In general, it may be said that the mortality trends in Minnesota are somewhat similar to those presented by the population of the United States as a whole. The study concludes with a comparison of the mortality trends in the two largest cities of the state, Minneapolis and St. Paul.

M.J.V.

CONSTRUCTION OF PERSONALITY SCALES BY THE CRITERION OF INTERNAL CONSISTENCY.

By RAYMOND F. SLETT. Hanover, New Hampshire: Sociological Press, 1937, pp. vii+92.

An attitude is defined as "a complex containing such components as beliefs, likes, dislikes, hopes and fears that are interrelated and that cluster around personal values." The emotional phases of an attitude arise from a "recognition of the bearing that certain proposals or courses of action have upon the attainment or maintenance of personal values." These values are the goals or the factors that give one security, status, and satisfaction of desires. Personal experiences are the ultimate determiners of attitudes. Internal consistency refers to arousing reactions on the basis of components and integrations. Now we come to the main finding, namely, that when the items on a personality scale produce responses on the basis of experiences that are not integrated around a common nucleus, but that belong to several configurations of attitudes not closely related, internal consistency cannot be anticipated.

E.S.B.

TECHNOLOGICAL TRENDS AND NATIONAL POLICY. Report of the Sub-committee of Technology to the National Resources Committee. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, June 1937, pp. viii+388.

Building upon the foundation laid by the President's Committee on Social Trends, this report attempts to blaze a new trail by training the "socioscope" on the future to see how living and working conditions are likely to be conditioned by the more widespread usage of certain inventions which are now in their infancy. About thirty years is the average lapse of time between the actual invention and the social problems which follow in its wake, the report points out. It is in the early part of this interim that a course needs to be charted in order to reduce the ordinary amount of culture lag which follows each major invention.

The issuance of this report marks a beginning of an organized attempt at applied social telesis. It attempts to point out that the future is considerably more predictable than some would have us believe, and not only why social planning is desirable but why it is the *sine quo non* to future human welfare. Professor W. F. Ogburn was chairman of the subcommittee that prepared the report.

P.M.B.

RESEACH MEMORANDUM ON INTERNAL MIGRATION IN THE DEPRESSION. By WARREN S. THOMPSON. Social Science Research Council, Bulletin No. 30. New York, 1937, pp. vii+86.

The purpose of this valuable monography is to "survey briefly the ideas and facts as to depression migration, and to indicate the gaps in our knowledge." In order to provide a matrix against which the unique depression effects can be studied, the author first considers internal migration from a long-time perspective. Because the most important trends in migration are toward the great commercial and industrial areas, "the great migratory movement is, therefore, no longer an east-west movement but a south-north and even a west-east movement." Professor Thompson refutes a number of cursory conceptions pertaining to depression migration. For instance, if the data of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics are to be trusted, the rural-urban back and forth movements since 1930 have declined rather than increased. In the concluding chapter, besides critically evaluating some of the most important methods for estimating intercensal population, he raises a number of pertinent questions for future studies. A selected bibliography is appended.

E.C.Mc.

The January, 1937, number of *The Social Research*, published by the Institute of Social Research and the Department of Sociology, National Sun Yat-sen University, in Canton, China, contains a number of significant articles, notably two by Professor Frank S. C. Yen. One discusses social survey planning in theory and practice; and the other, methods of thesis writing for sociology students. Both give Chinese students new tools for analyzing the social life about them. Professor S. L. Fu presents a survey of some of the social problems in China.

Culture and People

PERSONALITY AND THE CULTURAL PATTERN. By JAMES S. PLANT, M. D. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937, pp. x+432.

Dr. Plant, Director of New York State's Essex County Juvenile Clinic, has presented in this book a splendid discussion on the meaning, structure, and functioning of personality in social situations. For him, "personality and environment are mutually impinging sets of forces" which bring forward "a constant stream of action and interaction in which each new pattern reacts in turn on its determinants." The data upon which Dr. Plant has drawn and built his thesis have been supplied principally by the studies made in the Essex County Juvenile Clinic. Sociologists and social workers will agree heartily with the author's contention that "personality can be understood only if the cultural pattern in which it has grown, and from which it has taken its coloring, is understood; . . ." Older psychiatry and psychology have attempted in the past to delve into the problem of personality through inquiries into inner motivations, but new disciplines have been developing which have demonstrated the inadequacies of these methods. Modern sociologists and social psychologists have shown the necessity of taking into consideration the impact of the cultural environmental factors upon the person's mental and physical makeup in studies of personality. Dr. Plant has subscribed to this newer point of view and has delineated most clearly the interaction between personality and cultural elements in the social situation. His discussion of the effects of the school, church,

family, law, and industry on various personality types is significant with meaning and utility. A final insistence which emanates from experience with the clinic is that education of the future be planned with reference to educating children for change. Personality problems have arisen generally because of inability to meet social and cultural changes, and with an education designed to prepare adults of the future for change, Dr. Plant expects salutary results.

M.J.V.

THE NILE, the Life-Story of a River. By EMIL LUDWIG. Translated by MARY H. LINDSAY. New York: The Viking Press, 1937, pp. xvi+619.

The biography of a river is something new. Moreover, the biography of a people over thousands of years is presented here with a distinctive flavor. It is the author's literary style that gives a special uniqueness to this large volume. Likewise, the author's familiarity with the geography, the economics, and the human history of the Nile Valley is noteworthy.

Here you will find an interesting picture of the origins of the Nile. The confluence of the Blue Nile and the White Nile is effectively described. The wild animal life that makes the Nile and its tributaries its home is picturesquely portrayed.

Valuable analyses are those which deal with Abyssinia and its strategic location politically. The account of the contention among the European nations for control over portions of the Nile Valley is accompanied by a series of verbal pictures of the natives and of their struggles for existence both under their own lords as well as under foreign rulers.

Somewhat depressing is the result, despite the author's sprightly style. The story is too often one of greed, cruelty, fear, poverty, and in spots, extravagance. Man's inhumanity to man seems "to go on forever."

Significant is the role of leadership in the Nile Valley. Whether preliterate man or civilized Englishman is in charge, the nature of the leader's attitudes is usually vital. Of course, every leader must do his work within the general framework of traditions and customs that operate at his time. An interesting interplay of leader and physical and social environment is depicted in what is perhaps Mr. Ludwig's most valuable treatise.

E.S.B.

THE ANCIENT WORLD. By WALLACE EVERETT CALDWELL.
New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937, pp. xviii+590.

The civilization of Egypt, Greece, and Rome form the major portions of the book, but the author has not overlooked their preliterate background, and he also shows how they have been influenced by the cultures of other peoples during the historic periods studied. The reader cannot fail to observe how continuous has been the whole story of human advance, and how much each of these major civilizations has been the product of extensive interaction of peoples upon each other. The debt of the Western world to the cultures of these ancient times becomes obvious as the various institutions are discussed, their origins explained and illustrated. The book includes enough political history to provide a suitable setting, but it is essentially a history of civilization rather than of peoples, and therefore emphasis is placed on a survey of political, economic, and social institutions and activities, and a description of religious life and cultural achievements. The reader is aided by an excellent marginal outline of topics discussed, and the technique of the book is in general commendable. As a text for a history of ancient civilization, or for such an orientation in the social sciences, this book is one of the best available. Moreover, it has been written in such an engaging and interesting manner that it should appeal to the general reader. It has been designated as Volume I in a series, "The Civilization of the Western World."
J.E.N.

RACE, A STUDY IN MODERN SUPERSTITIONS. By JACQUES BARZUN. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937, pp. x+353.

The volume aims to be "a critical history of the Idea of Race in recent times" and "to show how equally ill-founded are the commonplace and the learned views of race." In the main the book succeeds in achieving these aims. The literature for the last hundred years or more regarding race has been combed and carefully reviewed. The myth of race is pretty well exploded, and yet it rules in the world today and ninety per cent of the modern world believe in it. De Gobineau receives extensive treatment. The author's fairness of view is illustrated in the fact that while he "shows up" the weaknesses in the doctrine of "Nordic racialism" as being taught

in Germany today, he also asserts that "the Semite himself is race-conscious and, given his chance, just as scornful and prejudiced as the Aryan who would oppress him." Race-pretexts, according to the author, are "a piece of unconscious hypocrisy or of willful camouflage." It is foolish of the Nordic to take pride in being longheaded and to feel superior to the roundheads, when many Negroes and the anthropoid ape, like the Nordics, are also longheaded. E.S.B.

DENMARK, Kingdom of Reason. By AGNES ROTHERY. New York: The Viking Press, 1937, pp. xi+275.

This is not a mere travel book. It is a history and a social painting. The author has familiarized herself with most of the main cities and countrysides, not to mention many of the islands that compose this "kingdom of reason." Thirty-two excellent photographs by Harry Rogers Pratt add to the reader's interest in Denmark. The style is pleasing and the interpretation is sympathetic and understanding, yet discriminating. The role of the co-operatives in Denmark, however, seems to be minimized. A valuable but brief outline of Danish history is appended. Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and the Island of Bornholm are included. Rural life, industry, and art receive the major attention. Hans Christian Anderson, Hamlet, Thorwaldsen, and Jensen are given a deserved prominence. Copenhagen, Ribe, Odense, and Esbjerg live before the eyes of the reader as cities to be visited and enjoyed. Ancient and up-to-date Denmark is encompassed. No one can read this volume and not wish to visit Denmark at the earliest possible date. Moreover, he will have a pretty good idea about the main points of interest. E.S.B.

THE FAMILIES OF ALIENS. A Study of Their Citizenship Status. By MELVIN M. FAGEN. New York: National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, 1937, pp. 15.

If some of the proposed legislation concerning the deportation of dependent aliens should be passed, to what degree would family ties be broken? That is, to what degree is the alien population interwoven with the citizen population? This study indicates the findings of a sampling of fifteen states to see how many American citizens are members of alien families. P.M.B.

MAN AND SOCIETY. Edited by EMERSON P. SCHMIDT. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, pp. xvi+805.

For an introduction to the social sciences in general, there are substantial chapters on sociology, social anthropology, psychology, criminology, history, human geography, political science, and economics. The two final chapters deal with social valuation and measurement. For these several disciplines there is a balanced presentation of principles, theories, and a practical application in terms of contemporary social problems. Although thirteen authors have contributed to the volume, the work is thoroughly integrated as a unit. It should make an excellent text for an orientation course.

J.E.N.

Social Politics

A DECLARATION OF INTERDEPENDENCE. By H. A. OVERSTREET. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1937, pp. 284.

Recognizing the influences of money, the machine, and technology on every aspect of modern American society, the author shows how the aims of democracy have more or less been defeated, and under what circumstances the American people have to struggle to maintain the so-called unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To state briefly the thesis of the book: "The very essence of modern independence is that it lives and moves in a complexity of interdependence. The seeming paradox is that interdependence is essential if independence is to be achieved." There are nine types of interdependence enumerated: the interdependence of production and purchasing power, of real wealth and a medium of exchange, of absentee ownership and absentee responsibility, of producer-obligation and consumer-right, of citizens and their representatives, of political aims and political means, of ourselves and our common resources, of nation and nation, and of happiness and intelligence. The author favors the American political philosophy and method of checks and balances instead of power concentrated

in the hands of a single authority. However, in order to have a modernized democracy, we need an overhauling not only of our federal but of our local governments. In style, the book is more or less journalistic.

J.E.N.

PLANNED SOCIETY; YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW.

Edited by FINDLAY MACKENZIE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, pp. xxviii+989.

Articles by thirty-five economists, sociologists, and statesmen of national and international prominence are contained in this symposium. These specialists discuss theories, policies, and details of economic control and social planning in primitive, ancient, and medieval societies, as well as for modern agricultural and industrial societies. Among the features of planning stressed are the use of land, water, housing, public utilities; the control of prices, credit, fiscal policies, markets, et cetera. The fourth and final part of the book contains articles that compare the political doctrines of democracy, socialism, communism, and Fascism as aspects of planning actually under way in several countries. Since economic and social planning has gained such importance in programs for social change today and seems to hold even greater meaning for the future, this symposium is timely and valuable for orientation on the whole subject. The editor and publishers have done an excellent job.

J.E.N.

MOSCOW, 1937. By LION FEUCHTWANGER. New York: The Viking Press, 1937, pp. xiii+151.

Friendly toward Russia, the author admits that "a petit-bourgeois mentality is developing amongst the more highly paid workers, peasants, and 'white'-collar employees." He expresses dissatisfaction with "the explanation of the forces influencing the accused to make their confessions" in the trials of the Trotsky supporters. He finds in the Soviet system a tendency toward the "depersonalization of the individual." On the other hand he finds that the air in the capitalistic nations is "stale and foul" and that if Fascism were to win out the world would sink into barbarism again. He supports Stalin in his opposition to Trotsky and finds hope in the democratic constitution of Russia, even though it is not observed in many particulars.

E.S.B.

Social Drama

YES, MY DARLING DAUGHTER. By MARK REED. New York: Samuel French, 1937, pp. 128.

Mark Reed has in this bold and witty three-act comedy offered a sprightly presentation of one of youth's modern problems. Filled with lines that sparkle with sharp brilliancy, the narrative tells the story of a mother who in her own youth had sowed a wild oat or two, and a daughter who is about to repeat that process. Mother has preserved some of her radicalism and freedom of spirit, born in a time when woman had begun to assert herself and had found some degree of emancipation by living in Greenwich Village. Daughter Ellen thinks her mother is tremendously advanced, and in fact, has utilized the case history of her parent as material for a collegiate thesis entitled, "The Contribution of Greenwich Village to the Cause of Freedom in American Art and Morals." And so when Ellen proposes to spend the week-end with her fiancé at a little cottage in the woods in order to solve some very personal matters, she naturally thinks that her mother will see the thing in a liberal light. She faces her mother with the fact that she is quite familiar with the problem that her mother once encountered and how that problem was solved by her, only "of course in a prudish Victorian society." Thus, mother is placed in a plight, but she boldly takes a last stand and attempts to show her daughter that the radicals of the early 1900's have, as far as their own children are concerned, gone a good way toward the conservative. Finally, mother capitulates, possibly remembering the jewel of consistency, and says "yes" to darling daughter, but not without a stab of conscience and a vociferous damning of sex, anyway.

The author saves the day for current morality and decency in the sex relationship by making the young man in the case object to being seduced, and showing him to be prettily shocked by the mother's approval of daughter's solution. So overcome is he that he insists that they marry immediately. To have stated this modern problem in such gay terms almost borders on the stroke of genius, for its statement produces no call for censorship. Sportively, the play discloses the very real problem of sex, faced by maturing

youths not able to marry, yet avoided as to solution by adults who, though they may have had the same difficulty, had to solve it either in secretive fashion or in resort to a bold departure from nice society into a devil-may-care Bohemia.

M.J.V.

Social Photoplay

Sidney Kingsley's drama, *Dead End*, has been brought to the screen through an adaptation by Lillian Hellman, skilled playwright herself and author of that interesting play, *The Children's Hour*. In such skillful hands was *Dead End* placed that as a photoplay it loses nothing of its essentials in theme, that of showing how gangsters are made. It still retains its purpose of contrasting the smug complacency and indifference of the wealthy with the wretchedness and squalor of the downtrodden who live within stone-throwing distance. Moreover, the stage setting of the play realistically designed by famed Norman Bel Geddes was enlarged and elaborately built on one sound stage by art director, Richard Day. The set shows the dead end of a New York street with an East River dock frontage, a swank apartment house on one side of the street, towering over the tenements which rear their ugliness both behind it and on the other side of the street. The six youngsters who caused such a stir through their realism in acting on the stage were brought to Hollywood to re-enact their roles on the screen and they played them to the hilt. For the screen play, much of their brutality and sex display has been softened, and a happy conclusion provided for the love story, which was left unsolved on the stage. The play as it emerges on the screen, though bereft of many of author Kingsley's more savage lines, yet succeeds in presenting to cinema audiences a vivid and thrilling series of episodes showing the pinched lives of the tenement dwellers, the futile struggles of gangsters and courtesans, and the real emptiness of the lives of the idle rich. Sylvia Sydney, Joel McCrea, and Humphrey Bogart add distinction to their roles and carry off honors with the six youngsters. *Dead End* is one film of which Hollywood can feel proud, for it is handled with distinctive artistry and is intelligently directed.

M.J.V.